

the  
**SAA**archaeological record

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**A**NARCHY AND **A**RCHAEOLGY



SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY



**82ND ANNUAL MEETING  
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# the SAArchaeological record

*The Magazine of the Society for American Archaeology*

**VOLUME 17, No. 1**

**JANUARY 2017**

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On the cover: Ceramic sherds, trowels, folding rule, and theory. "Anarchaeology" by Lewis Borck can be reused under the CC BY-SA 4.0 license.





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## EDITOR'S CORNER

Anna Marie Prentiss

*Anna Marie Prentiss is a professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Montana.*

The genesis of our special section, "Anarchy and Archaeology," was a symposium cochaired by Matthew Sanger and Lewis Borck at the 80th annual SAA meeting in San Francisco. At that time and as the issue took shape, few expected the outcome of the 2016 US presidential election. But as Donald Trump prepares to take the oath of office as the next president of the United States, there is serious concern within our archaeological and wider cultural heritage communities for future funding of archaeological research and protection of heritage resources. There is talk of organizing for legal resistance against anticipated federal and state level assaults on our discipline and resources (among other things). Could there be a better time to have a discussion about anarchy theory in archaeology?

As guest editors Borck and Sanger point out, anarchy has gained a bad name, much like Marxism, in many public circles. We hear about mobs and vandalism and spray-painted images of that iconic "A" in public places. But anarchy as a theoretical paradigm in the social sciences is much more than an appeal to, well, anarchy. Contributors to the special section make it clear that anarchy theory in archaeology is about furthering our understanding of societies organized in ways that are not hierarchical. It is clearly also about understanding the organization and actions associated with resistance movements. Thus, as archaeologists, much of our subject matter, whether consideration of hunter-gatherer sociality, Neolithic village networks, or dominance and resistance within and between more complex polities, is well served by anarchy theory. Contributors discuss an array of topics in both full-length articles and shorter sidebars. Welch considers anarchy and the study of resistance movements. Crumley explores theoretical issues in "anarchaeology." Henry et al. examine the implications of anarchy theory for creating typologies on multiple scales. Kintz provides a deeply personal manifesto for an anarchic worldview with important implications for how we position ourselves ethically, socially, and politically as archaeologists. Sanger argues for the utility of anarchic thinking in the study of hunter-gatherers. Sidebars by Pacifico, Orser Jr., Birmingham, Fajardo and Rotermund, and Montgomery take us down a number of additional paths in our exploration of anarchic thought for archaeology.

This issue also includes a Volunteer Profile column by Susan deFrance; another thoughtful discussion of archaeology and heritage issues in British Columbia, Canada, by Andrew Martindale; thoughts from SAA President Diane Gifford-Gonzalez; and last but not least, SAA Executive Director, Tobi Brimsek, addresses the issue of why we aren't going back to New Orleans (along with a number of other concerns)! All in all I hope you find this issue timely and provocative!



## FROM THE PRESIDENT

Diane Gifford-Gonzalez, RPA

Since the last issue of the *SAA Archaeological Record*, we have had a deeply consequential US election. The election of Donald Trump to the presidency resets our thinking about the role of SAA and its allies in cultural heritage protection over the next four years. SAA is preparing for probable assaults in Congress on everything from the Antiquities Act of 1906 through NHPA and NEPA, to end runs on Section 106 compliance in “streamlining” projects labeled as urgent infrastructure development.



The incoming Trump administration has signaled that it wishes to devolve some regulatory roles from the federal to the state level. SAA and its allies will be attentive to any such changes and proactively work to assure that our concerns are represented at all levels of government. Trump's appointment of officials sympathetic to his deregulatory point of view as heads of federal agencies managing lands and cultural resources will lead to top-down shake-ups in policy and practice. Climate change research and policy recommendations are especially at risk.

Before going further into the election's implications, I alert you to two related points. First, if you have not yet signed up for SAA's monthly Government and International Government Affairs Update e-mails, now would be a good time to do so. The Update reviews the last month's activities in Congress, agencies, and elsewhere and summarizes prospective legislation in Congress and where bills are in their progress to the floors of the House and Senate. E-mail [gov\\_affairs@saa.org](mailto:gov_affairs@saa.org) from the e-mail to which you want the Update sent.

Second, in November SAA announced free access to the May 2016 issue of *Advances in Archaeological Practice*. This contains articles by three SAA task forces on landscape-scale heritage management, plus past president Jeff Altschul provides background on how the task forces were set up. Members access *Advances* as a benefit, but we wanted to reach out to nonmembers in the United States tasked with drafting land management plans for agencies and energy plans for industry, as well as to international colleagues: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/advances-in-archaeological-practice>. Our press release and our message to the global President's List stressed that, although these recommendations originated in relation to US energy development, they are readily adapted to handling climate change impacts. I urge you to share this link with anyone you think may be interested in road-tested, CRM-based approaches to large-scale development that streamline compliance but neither legislatively gut Section 106 nor bypass it in the name of urgent development. Jeff Altschul and I wrote a one-page policy brief that we can share with members of Congress and others in the coming months.

Close ties exist between the Trump administration and members of the House who oppose social sciences research funding via federal research institutes. SAA has worked in alliance with other organizations and institutions to resist past initiatives to curtail social sciences funding over the past legislative cycles. We will continue our efforts to educate members of Congress regarding the importance of funding archaeological research.<sup>1</sup>

US participation in international heritage protection could be weakened through decreased funding of agencies for enforcement and refusals to renew bilateral agreements on illicit trade of antiquities. SAA's International Government Affairs Committee will maintain vigilance over this area.

Assaults on cultural resource legislation and regulations may take place quickly in the famous “first 100 days” of the administration. President-Elect Susan Chandler and I have been working closely with SAA's manager, Government Affairs, David Lindsay, as well as the chairs of the Government Affairs and International Government Affairs Committees to develop scenarios for the nature and likely sequence of legislative initiatives in the first four months of 2016, so as to prepare for most effectively responding to these potential threats.

SAA has staff and volunteer resources to meet these challenges, including a full-time legislative analyst/lobbyist, a full-time manager of media and mass communication, and a newly full-time PhD in archaeology as manager of education and outreach. The Board has newly expanded the Government Affairs Committee to accommodate “rapid response teams” for dealing with the various challenges outlined here and developing analyses



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## FROM THE PRESIDENT

and talking points for members. SAA's future actions stem naturally from our Principles of Archaeological Ethics, as noted in my "Our Principles, Our Actions" communication.

But SAA will need more than this to effectively push back against attempts to undermine the last 50 years of US cultural heritage protection. As this issue goes to press, SAA's collaborative strategies and tactics are still being formulated within the Society and with our valued allies in cultural heritage protection. We will keep you informed of our final arrangements on this.

Most importantly, we intend to call on you to educate your neighbors and legislators at federal and state levels as needed. Believe it or not, we have tried in the past to keep SAA's "e-mail blasts" to a minimum, but these will probably increase as we respond to upcoming challenges. I hope you will understand that these calls to action are truly that.

In the meantime, if you have never dropped by your congressional representative's local offices, you might do so to make yourself a recognized face in her or his constituency and talk about heritage protection among your other concerns.

Finally, you will have been informed of the outcome of the member vote on Principle No. 9, Safe Educational and Workplace Environments, for addition to SAA's Principles of Archaeological Ethics. The Board and I believe this addition, which speaks not only to sexual harassment and violence as strictly defined but also to harassment and violence based upon other real or perceived personal characteristics, is a timely addition to our principles. Recall that SAA's more detailed statement is on our website: <http://saa.org/AbouttheSociety/StatementonSexualHarassmentandViolence/tabid/1547/Default.aspx>. There, you can also find SAA's Background and Resource Guide for Addressing Harassment and Violence. That document expands one shared with us by the American Association of Physical Anthropologists' Executive Committee. Notable among SAA's updates is the section on US law on Hate Crimes.

### Note

1. Recommended viewing for a brief overview of potential impacts from the new administration on cultural resource management: the American Cultural Resource Association's 30-minute video, "The CRM Industry in the Age of Trump," <https://vimeo.com/193381138>.

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## IN BRIEF

**Tobi A. Brimsek**

*Tobi A. Brimsek is the executive director of the Society for American Archaeology.*

### Gearing Up for Vancouver

You can explore the breadth and depth of SAA's 82nd Annual Meeting through the preliminary program, posted on SAAweb since mid-December. Print copies of the program were dropped in the mail at the end of December. Even though you may already be registered, you may want to browse the excursions and other events now open for registration. Questions? Please e-mail us at [meetings@saa.org](mailto:meetings@saa.org).

### Please Vote

As is customary, the 2017 SAA election opened in early January. Please participate in your Society by casting your ballot. Importantly, in addition to the slates of candidates, this ballot includes a change to the SAA bylaws for your consideration. Please check your e-mail for your ballot link and engage!

### Needs Assessment Redux: So, Why Can't We Go to New Orleans?

Every so often members express their frustration at SAA not rebooking New Orleans for the annual meeting. Questions also arise about why we go where we do go, and occasionally there is the question, why don't we go to City X? This came up in the comments on the most recent member needs assessment. The purpose of this note is to address these questions.

Unfortunately, there is a relatively simple answer with regard to New Orleans. SAA's meeting profile does not meet the requirements for business on which the hotels in that city bid. Specifically, hotels are looking for a specific spending amount by the Society for food and beverages. In New Orleans, the last time SAA reached out, the minimum was just about seven times more than was the SAA food and beverage budget. This is not about attendee spending. It is the minimum requirement that a hotel or city requires the organization to spend—contractually.

Are there instances where the food and beverage minimum will be waived? Yes, occasionally, but not in New Orleans at this time. Using a third-party consultant, SAA does continuously

reach out to cities to ensure that if there is wiggle room or if there is a deal, SAA will be prepared to consider that deal. All cities have profiles that they develop for meeting business. In competitive, desirable cities, the city has much more choice for business. From time to time, SAA is able to piggyback on a larger piece of business that our third-party consultant has negotiated for another organization with a city or a property. That is the advantage of using a third-party consultant who can leverage, in this case, the millions of room nights per year that they book. Examples of our piggybacking are San Francisco and Washington, DC. The reality is, however, to those highly desirable cities, our low food and beverage budget and huge amount of meeting space makes our business less attractive than other organizations'.

Based on any number of circumstances, the meeting marketplace moves between buyers' and sellers' markets. With SAA's requirement of booking five years out and given the huge amount of space we need, SAA's third-party consultant and staff are constantly evaluating the landscape to see what is on the horizon and where there may be opportunity.

From time to time, staff will receive input from a member about going to City X. At the most basic level, the city needs to have enough meeting space and sleeping rooms to accommodate the meeting. Many smaller cities simply cannot accommodate SAA. Following SAA's and the third-party consultant's assessment of whether a city can accommodate the meeting, the process of seeing whether the city or property wants the business begins.

### Education and Outreach—Full-Time Staffing!

Dr. Elizabeth Pruitt joined the staff team on January 9, 2017, as SAA's manager, Education and Outreach. Beth has a BA in anthropology from Michigan State University, and a Master's in applied anthropology as well as a PhD in anthropology (historical archaeology and heritage concentration) from the University of Maryland. As you may be aware, this is a critical juncture for the Education and Outreach Program, moving from a part-time staffed position to a full-time staffed position.



VOLUNTEER PROFILE  
**Susan deFrance**



We are all very fortunate to be archaeologists. I think the discipline of archaeology is not only very intellectually engaging but the field is also highly energizing and incredibly entertaining. Fieldwork fosters incredible comradery and close relationships that last for years. One of the most rewarding aspects of being a professional archaeologist is being able to help bring recognition to the accomplishment of stu-

dents, colleagues, and our avocational friends through serving as a volunteer on SAA committees that provide a range of awards. I am taking this opportunity to encourage you to spend a bit of time helping the SAA or another organization as a volunteer simply because the rewards are so satisfying.

As a faculty member at the University of Florida, I've often been called upon to help with university functions that required the volunteer assistance of either other faculty or students. Drumming up volunteers for any project often takes a bit of convincing. However, I can always count on one of my doctoral students who has a "helium hand." If there is a task to be done or the need for someone to promote the department at a campus function, he will be the first to raise a helium hand and pitch in for the task at hand. We all get busy with our daily lives and sometimes volunteering for another task is the last thing we want to do, but let me tell you why you should make time to help.

For the last three years I have had the pleasure of serving on the SAA committee for the Award for Excellence in Archaeological

Analysis. The award cycles through three categories: a general category, lithic studies, and ceramic studies. The committee members are charged with soliciting nominations, reviewing them, and selecting a recipient. We have some fabulous colleagues who have made incredible contributions to the field. And as you all know, we can read someone's research and publications and hear them give presentations, but you truly get to know the impact that someone has had on their area of expertise by reading the heartfelt and sincere letters that accompany these nominations. The three recipients in my tenure on the committee were Barbara Voorhies (general category), Barbara Mills (ceramics), and Harold L. Dibble (lithics). Had I not served on this committee, I would never have become so familiar with both the professional and personal impact of these amazing individuals in the field. In my last year on the committee, I served as chair of the selection process and had the pleasure of being one of the first to congratulate Barbara Voorhies on being the well-deserved recipient of the 2016 award. I have also worked to nominate other outstanding colleagues for SAA awards, and that too is extremely rewarding. And every one of us can help with the nomination of your fellow colleagues, friends, and mentors for other awards. The process is not onerous, and you can bring great joy to someone who has made the discipline better. I also encourage more of you to attend the annual business meeting when you attend the SAA annual meeting. The genuine happiness that awardees show is also very rewarding.

If you think that you don't have the expertise to evaluate award nominations, find some other way to volunteer. You might start with your state or local archaeology organization. Or if you do international fieldwork, help with the local organization that hosts your research team. Whatever you do, I promise that your time will be valued and appreciated, and that you will gain much personal satisfaction through your engagement.





# THE IMPORTANCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN VANCOUVER AND BEYOND

Andrew Martindale

*Andrew Martindale is an associate professor in the Department of Anthropology, Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies, University of British Columbia, and the director of both the Laboratory of Archaeology and the Canadian Archaeological Radiocarbon Database.*

The 82nd Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting in Vancouver will be a celebration of all things archaeological. If you are like me, you will gravitate to sessions at the extremes of your competence. I look for papers that speak directly to my research interests as well as those about which I know nothing. The former keeps me informed in our fast-paced discipline while the latter re-ignites my enthusiasm for studying the complexities of history and people via the stuff of their lives. In between I look for coffee and friends, usually in that order. The conference is also a chance to visit new cities and in this case for many SAA members, a different country. I encourage you to explore Vancouver and its attractions. The conference is in the heart of downtown, making many places accessible on foot. It is also at the transportation hub of the region, allowing easy access to local and regional transport. There is much to see and do in the Vancouver area. Consider one of the SAA tours to the Museum of Vancouver, the Museum of Anthropology at UBC, or a bus tour of nearby Stanley Park; all offer different facets of archaeology, of Vancouver, and of Canada. I tend to be a creature of considerable habit, doing the same things at the same places most of my professional life. The annual meeting is a chance for me to expand my intellectual, cultural, and even social horizons; I hope you can also stretch in new ways this spring.

The annual meeting is also a chance for us to see the bigger picture in our endeavour. I have pointed to a few of these that resonate around Vancouver in my previous two notes in the *SAA Archaeological Record*. In Canada most archaeology is conducted by nonnative scholars as the study of aboriginal history. Canada seems engaged in a more forthright assessment of its relationships with aboriginal people. The recently completed Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) on Indian Residential Schools produced a comprehensive analysis of this history and effects of more than a century of the Canadian government policy of forcible acculturation of children. One of the most common refrains heard from nonnative Canadians is that they were unaware of the residential school system. The residential school system was in place from the late nineteenth century until the last school closed in the mid-1990s. The first government report on

the unacceptable conditions for aboriginal children appeared in 1907 (Bryce 1907). It is difficult to understand how nonnative citizens could be unaware of what some of my indigenous friends refer to as “concentration camps for children,” but such is the nature of culture that people seem able to see only the version of reality that they prefer. Thus archaeology in Canada, in British Columbia, and in Vancouver exists within a wider conversation about relationships between aboriginal and non-aboriginal Canadians, and by extension a wider range of cultural difference.

Archaeology is an obscure subject in most of Canadian society. It rarely appears in elementary or secondary school curricula. It has a modest presence on popular media, where most of the content emerges from and examines issues beyond our borders. The most notable recent Canadian archaeological discovery was the HMS *Terror* and HMS *Erebus*, ill-fated vessels of the 1845 Franklin Expedition. As noted wryly by Gary Coupland (2014), the editor of the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, this was but one of many dramatic archaeological discoveries, but no others were heralded by either the government or the press to quite the same degree. Indeed, the real traction of archaeology in Canadian society is in courts of law, specifically in the adjudication of aboriginal rights, including title rights. In this venue, archaeology plays a powerful role but is cast in a light that many archaeologists may find unflattering.

As with other jurisdictions, Canadian law is subject to legal challenge creating a leapfrog-like pattern of laws that set rules and case law that modify or even overturn them. The legal context is thus a slow-moving debate in which earlier rulings color later discussion. Archaeology's role in legal debates during the twentieth century was modest (see Martindale 2014), but this changed with the dramatic ruling known in Canada as *Delgamuukw*.<sup>1</sup> *Delgamuukw* is a gloss for three sequential court decisions triggered by the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en First Nations of British Columbia. In their original legal action, these communities spent three years providing testimony to the British Columbia Supreme Court outlining their claims to territory framed via their law—preserved primarily through oral traditions (see Sterritt et al.

1998 for details of this history). The initial ruling in 1991 rejected their claims on the grounds that oral records were fictional and oral testimony was hearsay. The judge relied exclusively on the documentary and archaeological evidence, the analysis of which was modest. The legality of this view, upheld by the BC Court of Appeal in 1993, was overturned in 1997 by the Supreme Court of Canada. This ruling struggled to elucidate how oral records were historical but concluded that to reject them out of hand was an obvious injustice (see Martindale 2006). In the wake of Delgamuukw, First Nations across Canada referenced their oral records in claims of aboriginal rights with renewed vigour. The Canadian government via its Crown representatives in court initially responded by arguing that oral records made no sense, a line of reasoning that was eventually unraveled (see Miller 2011 for this history). Then they turned to archaeology.

Archaeology has served different roles in the three most significant aboriginal rights court cases in Canada since Delgamuukw, all from British Columbia. In *Ahousaht*<sup>2</sup> archaeology had a minor role in the First Nation succeeding in making its claim to commercial fishing rights based almost entirely on historic records. In *Tsilhqot'in*<sup>3</sup> the First Nation successfully marshaled archaeology by luminaries from academia (such as R. G. Matson) and industry (such as Morley Eldridge) to demonstrate that the First Nation lived in its territory and practiced its traditions; however, this case was focused on resource access rights and has indirect title implications. In contrast *Lax Kw'alaams*,<sup>4</sup> which focused on the aboriginal right to commercial trade in fish, restricted archaeology's role.

Using logic framed by Bruce Trigger (1978:126) deriving from McKern's (1939) *Midwestern Taxonomic Method*, the Crown replicated the archaeological orthodoxy that it was impossible to connect precontact history with living descent communities. The Crown, via its expert witness, then argued that the archaeological evidence that did exist disproved the accounts of history in the oral record. The evidence that the Crown relied on most heavily was my PhD dissertation (Martindale 1999). I was not involved in these proceedings and remain somewhat aghast that my research was used to disenfranchise the community with whom I work from their rights; they have shown remarkable grace and civility by recognizing that this decision treated my research unfairly and our partnership continues. Indeed, a review of the expert witness report (Martindale 2013) notes that of the 70 references to my work, 87 percent were erroneous, including the expert's central thesis, that the *Lax Kw'alaams* had no trade in fish prior to contact. I find myself in the unusual position of having defined in Canadian law that I argued the opposite of what I concluded in publications. My response to this legal critique has been rigorously empirical and scientific. My recent work has examined a historical event in *Lax Kw'alaams* and wider Tsimshian history, a period of regional

war occurring over 1,000 years ago. Our forthcoming results frame the logic as an attempt to disprove the oral record and by failing, leave the thesis more robust: the Tsimshian oral record aligns with archaeology and is an accurate accounting of history. The Tsimshian owned their territory and had trade in fish, regardless of how Canadian law has interpreted archaeology.

Archaeology is important for many reasons. I remain enamoured of its local and particular puzzles, its methodological challenges, and its broad enquiries into history and the human condition. I find considerable value in archaeological debates about archaeology. However, I now recognize that our work does not and never has existed in a vacuum. The audiences for our scholarship are numerous and the effects of our results and interpretations can have significant lasting impacts on descent communities and the wider societies within which we work and live. These audiences—quite appropriately—consume, critique, and employ our results. The more thoughtful we are about the importance of our scholarship beyond our discipline, the more rigorous our attention to both empirical evidence and vulnerabilities to ethnocentrism, the more accurate our research will be. I look forward to seeing you in Vancouver in 2017.

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# AN INTRODUCTION TO ANARCHISM IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Lewis Borck and Matthew C. Sanger

*Lewis Borck is a postdoctoral researcher in the Faculty of Archaeology at the Universiteit Leiden and a postdoctoral preservation fellow at Archaeology Southwest. Matthew C. Sanger is an assistant professor at Binghamton University.*

Archaeologists are increasingly interested in anarchist theory, yet there is a notable disconnect between our discipline and the deep philosophical tradition of anarchism. This special issue of the *SAA Archaeological Record* is an attempt to both rectify popular notions of anarchism as being synonymous with chaos and disorder and to suggest the means by which anarchist theory can be a useful lens for research and the practice of archaeology.

Popular notions of anarchists and anarchism can be found in movies, television shows, and a variety of other media. In many of these representations, governments collapse and violence erupts when society attempts to operate without leaders. While the Greek root of *anarchy* is *an* (without) *arkhos* (leaders), this does not necessarily entail lack of order. Indeed, the Western philosophical tradition of anarchism was born out of an interest in how individuals could form cooperative social groups without coercion. Instead of chaos being implicit, anarchism assumes a level of order and cooperation among consenting parties.

Interest in voluntary organization has a lengthy history (Marshall 1992) and predates the first use of the term *anarchism* in Western thought. However, by 1793 Godwin published *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness* and discussed how an anarchist society might be organized. This was followed by Kant's 1798 definition of anarchy as a form of government entailing law and freedom without force in *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*. But the term was not formalized until Pierre Joseph Proudhon's 1840 book, *What Is Property? An Enquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government*. Eventually the word anarchism was popularized by Mikhail Bakunin and others in the 1800s.

In reaction to the rising authority of the capitalist elites in Europe, anarchists, specifically Proudhon and Bakunin, argued that the average individual was quickly becoming

subsumed under the industrialist state and that human freedoms were being lost to authoritarian rule. Anarchism, said Proudhon and Bakunin, was the rejection of elitism and authoritarianism and the creation of a new social body where "freedom is indissolubly linked to equality and justice in a society based on reciprocal respect for individual rights" (Dolgoff 1971:5).

If this seems similar to Marxist socialism, it's because the two exist on a continuum with anarchism as a libertarian form of socialism on the end opposite Marxism (Chomsky 2005:123). Both Proudhon and Bakunin were correspondents, if not friends, with Karl Marx until an eventual falling out between the two philosophical camps. While Marxism and anarchism were both concerned with the formation of fair and just societies where individuals were not alienated from their labors and could live their lives free from the oppression of an elite class, anarchism understood power as emerging from a range of factors, only some of which were the economic and material principles favored by Marxists.

Perhaps more importantly, the two also differed on how best to transform society. In contrast to Marxism, in which revolution proceeds in stages and relies on state authority to enact the eventual transformation into communalism, anarchism requires that liberation proceeds in a manner that reflects the end goal—meaning state-level authority had to be rejected from the outset. This grew from the anarchist idea that societies are prefigured, which is to say they emerge from the practices that create them. Instead of the ends justifying the means, anarchists believe that the means create the ends. But also that the means in some way are the ends. The two are simultaneous. The ends are process.

Although long disregarded by most academics (and the history of how Marxism flourished while anarchism did not is an interesting one), anarchist writers have built up an impressive body of work over the last 200 years. As an



anti-dogmatic philosophy, anarchism is difficult to circumscribe and define. Nonetheless, anarchism is tied together by an interest in self-governance, equality of entitlement, and voluntary power relations marked by reciprocity and unfettered association (Call 2002; McLaughlin 2007). One of the central interests driving anarchist thought is how to organize in the absence of institutionalized leadership. Whether it's order through respect of each individual's rights and humanity or order as supported through rules worked out in a committee format, anarchism is often about order, albeit very vocal, disruptive, heterogeneous order.

Clastres's 1974 publication of *Society Against the State* was a watershed moment for anarchism in anthropology; yet it is only since the publication of works by James C. Scott and David Graeber that increasing numbers of anthropologists have begun to apply anarchist theory to their research. Initially, anthropological use of anarchist theory was divided between those studying groups with acephalous sociopolitical organization and those who desired to bring anarchist thought and actions into anthropological practice. Bringing this research and practice into dialogue with one another has proven useful (e.g., articles in High 2012), and anarchist theory is advancing new ideas, practices, and interpretations within anthropology (Barclay 1982; Clastres 2007 [1974]; Graeber 2004; Macdonald 2013; Maskovsky 2013; Scott 2009).

In recent years, anarchist theory has found a new foothold in many other disciplines as well, especially geography (e.g., Springer 2016), political economy (e.g., Stringham 2005), sociology (e.g., Shantz and Williams 2013), material culture studies (e.g., Birmingham 2013), English (e.g., Cohn 2006), and indigenous studies (e.g., Coulthard 2014). The utility of anarchist theory, in many ways, is built on the same scaffold as its practice. Free association of multiple disciplines and theories are possible. This confluence of praxis works because, as Lasky (2011:4) notes when discussing the intersection of feminism, anarchism, and indigenism, "this interplay of diverse traditions, what some are calling 'anarch@indigenism,' (Alfred et al. 2007), forges intersectional analysis and fosters a praxis to de-center and un-do multiple axes of oppression."

This is a much-needed reflexive collaboration. Anarchist theory has been a very white and male-centered space in the

Global North that has often unintentionally excluded many of the voices it was interested in supporting and amplifying. Anarchism in the Global South has been much more inclusive, and anarchist theory there has blossomed by both questioning the primacy of hierarchy as the desired model of a complex society and engaging in the larger program of decolonizing sociopolitical systems (for example, the Rojava autonomous zone in northern Syria [Enzinna 2015; Weinberg 2015] and Aymara community organization in Bolivia [Zibechi 2010]). On a global scale, a more heterovocal and simultaneous package of anarchist thought has emerged that includes, intersects, and/or supports feminist, indigenous, Western, and Global South philosophical traditions.

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**The separation of means and ends was . . . false. For her . . . there was no end. There was process: process was all. You could go in a promising direction or you could go wrong, but you did not set out with the expectation of ever stopping anywhere.**

**—Ursula K. Le Guin,  
*The Dispossessed***

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### Anarchy and Archaeology

While anarchism has positively influenced many social science disciplines, it has yet to be widely applied within archaeology. To date, the few explicit and published uses of anarchist theory within archaeology include work by Fowles (2010), Angelbeck and Grier (2012), Flexner (2014), Morgan (2015), Wengrow and Graeber (2015), and dissertations by Sanger (2015) and Borck (2016), as well as some discussion by González-Ruibal (2012, 2014). These examples are followed up by the recent publication on *Savage Minds* of a framework for an anarchist archaeology entitled "Foundations of an Anarchist Archaeology: A Community

Manifesto" that was written by a non-hierarchy of authors (Black Trowel Collective 2016).

Anarchist theory's absence in our discipline is particularly interesting since resistance to authority has a long history of study in archaeology. Many recognize that the establishment of decentralized social relations is not a "natural" condition but rather requires significant effort (e.g., Trigger 1990). In small-scale societies, authority is often resisted through leveling mechanisms including ostracism, fissioning, public disgrace, and violence (Cashdan 1980; Woodburn 1982). Within larger societies, archaeologists have suggested a variety of ways in which power relations can arise in decentralized forms, including sequential hierarchies (Johnson 1982) and heterarchies (Crumley 1995; see also McGuire and Saitta 1996). The archaeological study of decentralized power structures and active resistance to authority has become increasingly common (Conlee 2004; Dueppen 2012; Hutson 2002)

and often benefits from Marxist, postcolonial, feminist, and indigenous critiques that highlight the importance of class, gender, and race in formulating power structures.

Considering the history of concern over the control of power and the growth of inequity appears as ancient as human society (e.g., Wengrow and Graeber 2015), these overlaps with anarchism are unsurprising. Anarchist historians have even taken parallel interests such as these to argue that anarchism is quite ancient. Kropotkin (1910) contended that the early philosophical underpinnings for anarchism could be seen in writings by the sixth-century BC Taoist Laozi and with Zeno (fourth century BC) and the Hellenistic Stoic tradition. Others have argued that Christ in the New Testament is a fundamentally anarchist figure (Woodcock 1962:38 citing Lechartier) and that Al-Asamm and the Mu'tazilites were Muslim anarchists in the ninth century AD (Crone 2000). But instead of early strains of anarchism, Woodcock has argued that anarchist historians and theorists are identifying "attitudes which lie at the core of anarchism—faith in the essential decency of man, a desire for individual freedom, an intolerance of domination" (1962:39).

In some ways it is an act of theoretical and philosophical colonization to label anyone interested in contesting power or emancipation of the individual as anarchist, and since anarchism thrives in a multivocal environment, it should be antithetical as well. Researchers have recognized this in various ways. Patricia Crone (2000) burns through a bit of text noting that the Mu'tazilites were anarchist not because they subscribed to anarchist thought, but because they thought society could function without the state. Anarchist archaeologists often recognize the simultaneity of these fellow travelers with the term *anarchic* to avoid co-opting modes of thought and action that are not explicitly anarchist.<sup>1</sup> Thus *anarchic* is *like* anarchism but not explicitly of it.

For example, in her article "The Establishment and Defeat of Hierarchy" (2004), Barbara Mills contends that the creation and caretaking of inalienable possessions evidence human processes that serve to generate and reinforce social hierarchy through religious practice. She combines that with an understanding of radical power dynamics wherein hierarchy is contested through the destruction of the material signature of that ritual inequality. While not a product of anarchist thought, her article nicely captures anarchic principles through the theoretical lens of materialism.

As another example, Robert L. Bettinger's book, *Orderly Anarchy: Sociopolitical Evolution in Aboriginal California*,

drawing on the "ordered anarchy" described by Sir E. E. Evans-Prichard in *The Nuer*, is a study of how decentralized power structures formed and functioned among Native American groups in precolonial California. Bettinger's work can also be considered an anarchic study, since he seeks to understand how governance without government can be accomplished, yet does not draw on anarchist theory.

And there is a host of other fellow travelers. These include the recent *Punk Archaeology* book published by Caraher and colleagues (2014); Sassaman's (2001) work on mobility as an act of resistance to state building; Creese's (2016) work on consensus-based, non-hierarchical polities in the Late Woodland period of eastern North America; and complexity scientists within archaeology (sensu Maldonado and Mezza-Garcia 2016; Ward 1996 [1973]). While not explicitly anarchist, these examples all demonstrate that anarchic ideas are more prominent than many realize.<sup>2</sup>

## Anarchy and Studying the Past

So-called middle-range societies have traditionally been offered little agentive powers within archaeological research. They are often seen as acting under the whims of greater entities (climate, neighboring "complex" groups, etc.). Archaeological chronologies are littered with Intermediate, Transitional, and other terms for periods of dissolution and "de-evolution," many of which are given little interpretive precedence in comparison to Classical, Formative, and periods otherwise marked by hierarchical "fluorescence."

Anarchist theory, with its focus on social alienation and a questioning of political representation, offers unique insights into these periods. Indeed, traditional archaeological chronologies are turned on their heads when reframed using anarchist theory. Periods of cultural disorganization, collapse, and disintegration are instead seen as points of potential societal growth and freedom. Anarchist theory questions the base concept that "simplicity" is the starting point and that only "complexity" is achieved. Instead, equivalent power relations are recognized as requiring tremendous amounts of effort to establish and maintain. As such, archaeologists utilizing anarchism conceptualize and interpret "simple" societies in new ways to the extent they are seen as earned through direct action and actively produced through entrenched practices, ideologies, and social institutions. And hierarchical, or complex, societies can be viewed as ones that emerge when social institutions that minimize or limit self-aggrandizement break down (e.g., Borck 2016). Instead of being constructed by purposeful actions of elite individuals, these top-down societies may grow like weeds

from cracks spreading in the social processes meant to limit aggrandizement.

The contestation of the dominance of hierarchy is also one of the reasons why anarchist archaeologies are also often decolonizing archaeologies. They challenge the implicit idea that states are the pinnacle of society and “rather than seeing non-state societies as deviant, the exception to the rule, we might begin to look at examples of anarchic societies as adaptive and progressive along alternative trajectories with historical mechanisms in place designed to maintain relative degrees of equality, rather than simply those who haven’t yet made it to statehood” (Flexner 2014:83).

### Anarchism and Archaeological Practice

Much like other social critiques (e.g., feminism, Marxism, postcolonial, queer), anarchist theory is applicable not only to our interpretations of past peoples but also to our discipline as a whole. For decades, archaeologists have been increasingly concerned with developing projects that are more inclusive, collaborative, responsive, and reflexive. Archaeologists have called for changes in field methods, publication practices, and interpretive stances in order to produce a discipline with fewer boundaries, decreased centralization of authority, and increased equality of representation (Atalay 2006; Berggren and Hodder 2003; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008; Conkey 2005; Gero and Wright 1996; Silliman 2008; Watkins 2005). Anarchist theory has been applied to similar restructuring projects within education, sociocultural anthropology, and sociology (e.g., Ferrell 2009; Haworth 2012). In each of these projects, collaborative engagement and informational transparency were increased as researchers restructured their practices around anarchist ideals to focus on free access to information and democratization of decision-making.

Anarchist theory can also be used to scrutinize heritage management decisions and to offer insights into how practices might be revitalized, revolutionized, or entirely reframed. As a brief example, examining UNESCO cultural preservation decisions in North America leads to deep questions about what Western society valorizes and what type of history we are creating through heritage preservation decisions.

Out of the 47 UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites in North America,<sup>3</sup> only four (9 percent) can best be described as horizontally organized (Figure 1).<sup>4,5</sup> This low number does not accurately reflect the history of this continent since much more than 9 percent of human history in North America consisted of horizontally organized governance (although see

Wengrow and Graeber 2015 and Sanger this issue for a discussion of the problems with assuming all Neolithic groups are “simply” egalitarian). It is arguable that these sociopolitical organization preservation decisions arise out of a form of statist ethnocentrism that makes it conceptually difficult to envision complex modes of organization that are not hierarchical. Indeed, if we continue at present pace, we risk erasing our past through political biases embedded in heritage preservation value judgments. Without more representative, or at least balanced, decisions, our shared history will mostly be one of hierarchical societies: the present re-created in the past.

Many archaeologists are also very concerned with the intersection of archaeology and pedagogy, especially in regard to the ways archaeologists teach about the past in the classroom, at field schools, and through mentoring. Scholars of engaged pedagogy have long commented on the detrimental effects hierarchical forms of teaching produce in diverse student populations (e.g., Freire 1993; hooks 2003). Anarchist thinkers also have a long tradition with pedagogical experimentation (e.g., Godwin 1793; Goldman 1906; Stirner 1967) and suggest ways in which learning can benefit from decentralized authority, individuated experimentation, and situated learning (Haworth 2012; Suissa 2010; Ward 1996).

Anarchism also provides important insights regarding the way we engage with modern communities. Collaborative projects informed by anarchism aim to shed traditional hierarchical posturing and instead integrate stakeholders throughout the research process. Applied to work with descendant communities, this approach can also serve to decolonize the research relationship, as well as archaeological research in general.

Anarchism’s central concern with unequal power structures also provides a useful framework for examining the division between specialists (professionals) and nonspecialists (amateurs) and challenges the control of information within the discipline. Anarchist frameworks may help to dismantle the normative divide between archaeologists (framed as producers and interpreters of the past) and the public (thought of as passive consumers of archaeological narratives). This also means that, as knowledge holders, archaeologists need to answer some difficult questions about what it means to be a specialist. Edward Said (1993) was grappling with just this question when he wrote that “an amateur is what today the intellectual ought to be.”

Critical to both anarchist archaeological theories and practices is a philosophical commitment to decentralizing power relations and building a more inclusive discipline. This



### Social Organization of North American UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites

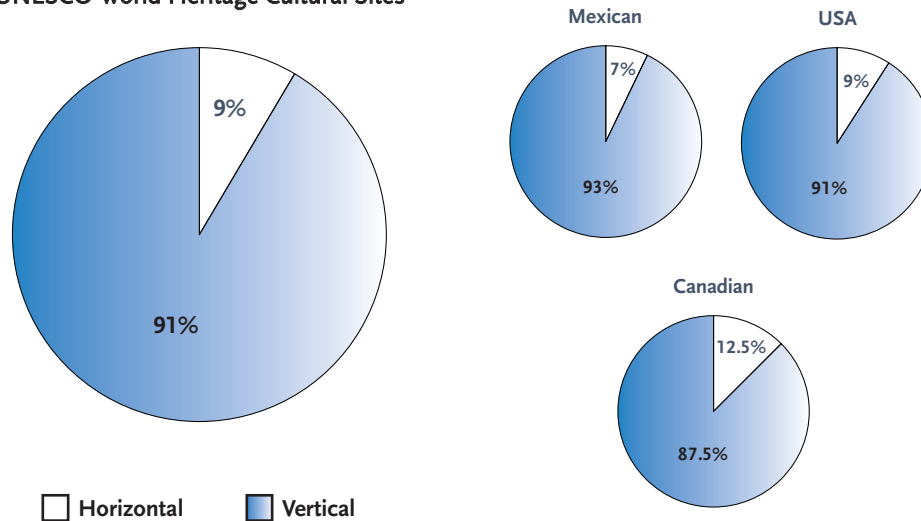


Figure 1. Proportions of North American UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites that are organized horizontally and vertically.

includes a destabilization of Western conceptions of science, time, and heritage that are often employed to legitimize the practice of archaeology in the broader political sphere. Using an anarchist lens, non-Western or nonnormative world-views, ontologies, epistemologies, and valuations are given equal footing, both in terms of interpreting the past and in the formation of current practices. Here again, anarchist theory intersects and parallels many queer, indigenous, and feminist critiques.

Archaeology is particularly well suited to engage with, and benefit from, anarchist theory since we often study non-state societies, points of political dissolution, active rejections of authority by past peoples, and the accrual of power by elites and institutions. Likewise, the restructuring of our discipline to be more inclusive is certainly underway. Anarchist theory can provide a new philosophical grounding by which archaeologists can reframe their engagements with the past, with students, descendant peoples, the engaged public, and each other in ways that will redistribute authority and empower individuals and communities often relegated to the margins of our discipline.

The articles in this issue take on some of these contexts. John Welch begins the discussion by thinking about how resistance can be implemented and centralized authority combatted in his complementary narrative to Spicer's *Cycles of Conquest*. Welch offers a series of variables (scale, fre-

quency, and effectiveness) by which we might be able to better describe and compare resistance efforts that he then applies to Apaches relations with Spanish, Mexican, and US forces. The dynamism allowed through the applications of these variables allows Welch to better clarify the means by which the Apaches combatted colonial forces as well as offering insights into how anarchism is not a single mindset, practice, or goal—but is rather a concept that we apply to the world in order to better understand it.

Carol Crumley builds on Welch's work by arguing that anarchist archaeology, or anarchy archaeology, is a moral and ethical activity, designed to critique uneven power structures and offer alternative understandings of the past as well as the present. Crumley argues that traditional notions of progress from simplicity to complexity are beginning to crumble and that in their stead, a better understanding of collective action and governance is emerging.

The piece by Edward Henry, Bill Angelbeck, and Uzma Z. Rizvi likewise focuses on the practice of archaeology, arguing that an anarchist approach offers a greater degree of epistemological freedom in our research, including at its most basic level—the creation and application of typologies. When applied as essential and timeless, typologies restrict our understanding of the past and end up reifying themselves as objects of study. Instead, Henry et al. argue that typologies must remain experimental, fluid, and above all else—

relational, by which they argue archaeologists ought to apply typologies that foreground connections between phenomena.

Theresa Kintz continues the focus on the practice of archaeology, both in the present and as a vision of the future if anarchist principles are brought into the discipline. Using evocative language, Kintz looks at the practice of archaeology through many paths: in the field, at museums, through CRM reports, with indigenous communities, and among academic archaeologists. By suggesting we are currently living in an age of rapid environmental change caused by humans—the Anthropocene—Kintz argues that the unique point of view offered by archaeologists is of critical importance as it offers alternative ways of living in the world.

Matthew Sanger concludes the issue by using anarchist theory to redirect what he sees as an overexuberance in the study of hunter-gatherer complexity. Sanger suggests that a preoccupation with studying complexity has resulted in an underappreciation of balanced power relations in many non-agrarian communities as these egalitarian structures are thought to be natural and to require little work to maintain. Instead, Sanger argues that “simple” hunter-gatherers often create, promote, and preserve anarchic ideals through acts of counter-power—acts that often predate the emergence of centralized authority and are indeed the means by which such authority often fails to take hold.

Finally, the “Many Voices in Anarchist Archaeology” sidebars are an assembly of archaeologists and material culture scholars engaged in the development of applications for an anarchist archaeology. There is no theme. Authors were given full sway to write for themselves as anarchist archaeologists. These pieces are meant to provide an appreciation for the breadth of anarchism and to highlight how it is becoming more widely applied within the discipline.

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## Notes

1. *Anarchic* is also used as an adjective to define decentralized or non-state societies, working before or outside of anarchist theory, where individuals and groups actively resist concentrations of authority and promote decentralized organizational structures.

2. See also David Graeber's *Are You An Anarchist? The Answer May Surprise You!*: <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/david-graeber-are-you-an-anarchist-the-answer-may-surprise-you>.

3. Data was compiled from the UNESCO World Heritage List and included all of the cultural and mixed cultural/natural sites from the three countries that comprise North America: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>.

4. Data is available at [https://github.com/laborck/2016UNESCO\\_Cultural](https://github.com/laborck/2016UNESCO_Cultural).

5. Coding these sites as either a vertical or horizontal sociopolitical organization necessarily reduces these political forms from a continuum into a binary.

# CYCLES OF RESISTANCE

John R. Welch

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Popular wisdom holds that history is written largely by conquerors. The archaeological record in general, and this *SAA Archaeological Record* in particular, however, inscribe vestiges of the vanquished as well as the victorious, the anarchic as well as the authoritarian. Postmodern scholars, including most of those contributing to this collection, seek to rebalance knowledge unjustly weighted by power rather than by truth. Implicit in most postmodern and anarchist scholarship is the proposition that research dedicated to the end of sexism, racism, and classism will add dimension to history and justice to society. A similar rationale guides work to uncover and underscore the historical and cultural experiences of conquered and subjugated groups. Research into responses to conquest and domination is called for not only to improve what we know about what happened in the past but also to complement the social and political science of group dynamics and to expand the repertoire of practical tactics to resist unjust and unsustainable authoritarian impositions (see Scott 1990).

Defiance of tyranny sounds as American as baseball and apple pie, but anarchist scholars seeking truth and advocating freedom still encounter conceptual and political obstacles, most of them grounded in ignorance and fear rather than in self-interest or evil. This brief article and its comrades-in-words seek to accelerate the emancipation of anarchism within archaeology. Just as race, class, and gender have emerged as essential topics for both critical scholarship and political reform, so too should anarchism be welcomed back from its misguided exile and returned to active duty through research and action. It is no coincidence that so many anarchist social groups have been extinguished or radicalized through encounters with coercive and commoditizing influences of colonialism and capitalism. It is no coincidence that so little of the state-sponsored financial and institutional support available for knowledge acquisition and mobilization has gone to anarchist studies. It is no coincidence that interest in anarchy is surging in response to the

apparent failures of late modern states around the world to make good on promises to support just and sustainable social systems.

Anarchism's resurfacing includes the bubbling up of inquiry into how groups who lack authoritarian structures—whether by dint of preference or oppression—organize themselves. There is not likely to be a period more appropriate than the present for learning about and applying alternatives to hierarchical power and state-based authority. Only a small number of the groups on the losing sides of history are or were anarchic, to be sure. Anarchism nonetheless provides conceptual and analytic tools useful in understanding the structures and dynamics of people willing to trust only those who serve the collective good without insisting upon differential access to wealth or power. Anarchism is, in theory and practice, a study of perpetual, all-out resistance to domination and of perpetual, all-in commitment to reorganization as needed to respond to and recover from the pretensions of authoritarian, imperial, or colonial regimes in any form or scale.

## Cycles of Conquest

This contribution to rethinking the archaeology-anarchy interface offers a means for improved understanding of the histories and cultures of the dominated and dispossessed. I do this by outlining a study of *cycles of resistance* as a complement to the *Cycles of Conquest* adeptly narrated in Edward H. Spicer's 1962 classic book on the Mexican Northwest (Noroeste) and American Southwest. This effort to balance socially and academically institutionalized emphases on conquest with attention to resistance is inspired by and seeks ultimately to throw not bombs but clarifying light upon the often anarchic quests to thwart tides of colonial domination that have transformed this region and so much of the rest of the world. There is much to learn in and from resistance not only about what happened and why within groups opposed to domination but about broadly relevant factors and

processes, including political sovereignty, social group boundary maintenance, social networks, migration, emulation, local knowledge, collective learning, and the endless and endlessly fascinating and appealing prospects of self-organizing systems.

Aptly subtitled *The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960*, Spicer's book chronicles how three successive and colonial campaigns and regimes had parallel consequences over the course of four centuries for 10 Native people-territorial-institutional groupings (i.e., Tarahumara, Mayo, Yaqui, Upper and Lower Pima, Ópata, Seri, Pueblo, Navajo, Apache, Yuman). Spicer employs a sort of *natural experiment* in which the general region and the shifting pressures of external political incursions serve as loose controls for examining Native responses, especially in terms of assimilation versus enclavement. Influential variables include geographical proximities, conqueror perceptions of social distance, and the deployment of religion, education, and commodification of Native land and labor as assimilation tactics. Native outmigration, residential settlement patterns, and ideologies also affected the levels and types of conquest and assimilation.

The waves of domination Spicer analyzes in *Cycles of Conquest* ushered the Southwest and Noroeste into articulation with global politics, markets, societies, and most recently with scholarship on imperial histories and their effects on colonized peoples. It is now recognized that these cycles rolled through and over many social groups—especially those occupying territories valued strategically or for commodities—destroying vast arrays of sophisticated adaptations and knowledges that supported apparently sustainable though ever-changing demographic, technological, and environmental arrangements. It is important to note that the study of cycles of resistance I propose is not a critique of Spicer. In fact, Spicer's narrative includes various tips of the hat to resistance, especially in relation to the patent conflicts between European notions of absolute territorial sovereignty and Native convictions—common among all 10 Native nations—concerning intrinsic and inviolable interconnectivities among territories and social group identities.

Spicer nonetheless holds his primary focus on understanding conquest and its consequences. His analyses of foreign-born contact policies and local cultural change and stasis have inspired several generations of historical and archaeological scholarship, including now-familiar efforts to foreground the agency of colonized groups (see Rubertone 2000). Yet to emerge, however, is a framework that does for resistance what Spicer did for conquest. In light of growing

interests in the powers and influences of subaltern groups and the growing recognitions of the failures of modern states and colonial regimes, the time is ripe for boosting and engaging analytic capacities to identify and study resistance archaeologically and otherwise.

### Turning the Tables

My anarchist perspective suggests inverting Spicer's foreground-background to shift emphasis onto factors influencing the processes and results of resistance. Such an inversion prompts questions about the immediate and longer term structural and cultural effects of resistance on conquest campaigns and conquerors' societies. It also opens inquiry into prehispanic resistance, including the possibilities of institutionalized interests on the part of diverse Native peoples in perpetuating sovereignties and forestalling dominations through settlement system reorganization (see Borck 2016, this issue). Arakawa (2012) suggests, for example, the possibility that migrations from and reorganizations within the Mesa Verde region may have been responses to the development of social inequality. Examples of resistance capabilities institutionalized in Pueblo society include the broad distribution of authority, the rigorous control of esoteric knowledge, and a distinctive style of bend-but-never-break diplomacy.

Shifting the gaze from conquest to resistance brings important and understudied dimensions of materiality, place, and power into foreground focus. Examples of resistance enabled by Apache anarchic organization include variations on a sort of shell game Apaches presented to the three groups of would-be conquerors. In an initial engagement, an Apache "chief" might step cooperatively forward to receive gifts, declare allegiances, and seal deals. In the next engagement, conquerors who had dutifully kept their covetous collective eye on territory and people they believed they had pacified might learn that a closely related or nearby Apache leader had mustered men for a raiding party. A third iteration might reveal neither collaborator nor enemy, but rather a radically depopulated area that had recently been well occupied by compliant Apaches. The astonishing variety of group names the would-be conquerors used in attempts to classify and categorize Apache-territory-leadership units (and soon found to be useless) offers one index of the difficulties hierarchies encounter in efforts to subsume anarchies.

With these initial caveats and examples in mind, and with an ultimate goal of fashioning a tool useful in archaeological as well as historical studies of resistance, two steps forward seem useful here. The first is to enable improved descriptions and comparisons by proposing three basic variables relevant



to all or most resistance efforts—*scale*, *frequency*, and *effectiveness*. *Scale* refers to the social breadth, depth, and coordination of resistance activities, ranging from a simple act by an individual to a concerted resistance campaign supported by formal rules and organizational structures (anarchists' Spidey senses scintillate at the mere mention of enabling or encouraging power relations by forming persistent organizations). *Frequency* refers to the number and timing of resistance efforts, again ranging from a single random act to daily or weekly reminders of resistance to multiple and iterative acts across meaningful temporal scales. *Effectiveness*, the least easily quantified of the three resistance variables and thus the one that requires the greatest attention to situational factors in order to enable comparisons, refers to the degree to which a resistance effort achieves its intended objective without unintended consequences adverse to the resistance goals. The limitless variation in the types and methods of resistance—from passive and indirect capacity building and symbol manipulation to active and direct destruction of authority apparatus—challenges the specification of additional variables. It also enables the imagination of infinite means for subverting domination and restoring power to those willing to use it, exclusively, for the creation and maintenance of local collective goods.

The second step possible here is to offer an example to illustrate some of the dynamics among these three related variables. Apache resistance to Spanish, Mexican, and US colonization beginning in the 1600s and continuing in some forms today (Figure 1) provides an accessible point of entry into factors affecting processes and products of conquest as well as resistance. It seems quite possible that Apaches were employing capacities and structures developed and honed in the course of a distinctive cultural history characterized by movements through highly variable sociopolitical and bio-

physical environments, including migrations into the Noroeste-Southwest along rugged upland seams between more settled and more agricultural groups (Welch et al. 2017). Emphatically anarchic Apache groups initially defied Spanish incursions situationally and on a region-by-region basis. Resistance included infrequent, small-scale, low-investment responses to specific instances of newcomer aggression and raiding opportunities. Because of the highly contingent nature of the contacts, effectiveness was also highly variable. As the capacity, scale, frequency, coordination levels, and policy objectives of conquest operations increased, so too did the capacities, scales, frequencies, and investments of resistance.



Figure 1. An example of ongoing resistance—small-scale, high-frequency, and at least symbolically effective—to ongoing domination. Source: <http://nativesinamerica.com/2016/03/how-do-we-define-american-nationalism-today/>.

Without sacrificing anarchic organization or interests in retaining options to raid Spanish and Mexican settlements, Apaches devised new types and levels of responses to conquest pressures. These included the recognition of leaders for raiding and warfare forces, depending on whether the goal was food or revenge. Some of these groups were unprecedented, composed of more men and of men from a greater number and diversity of Apache local groups than ever before. When forts were built, Apaches relocated. When gifts

were offered, Apaches cooperated with eyes wide open. When sovereign control over Apache land was declared, Apaches experimented with confederacies, collaborations with US forces against Mexican soldiers, and treaty making. When American soldiers promised secure land rights, Apache bands and local groups having territories within the proposed reservations usually cooperated; local groups left without territory had few options but to fight and flee. Concerted resistance continued through Geronimo's 1886 surrender, then became generally less organized, direct, and violent, if no less common. Three centuries of active resistance—generally small in scale and situationally variable in frequency and effectiveness—seem to have prepared Apaches well in some ways for ongoing quests to boost and

## ANARCHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

exercise their inherent sovereignties in the wake of the failed colonialist schemes.

### Anarchaeology!

Thinking about cycles of resistance encourages critical comparisons of patterns and dynamics as these relate to both colonial and anti-colonial structures, histories, and archaeologies. Among other lessons, the Apache case reveals that infrequent resistance by small and uncoordinated social units can be effective precisely because such acts are virtually impossible to predict or otherwise defend against. The Apache example and others from the vast-but-unwritten encyclopedia of anarchy provide a descriptive basis for moving beyond social-theoretical considerations in archaeologies of resistance (see Miller et al. 1995). Archaeology needs

something anarchy offers: insights into patterns of self-organizing behaviors and cultures that are deeply grounded in time- and place-specific circumstances but free from the encumbrances of previous thinking within social evolution and other frames and forms of classification based on power relations and quaint notions of human advancement.

The point of departure and foreground for resistance is the terminus and background for conquest. What is gain from one perspective is loss for another. Humans continue to learn that “progress” to date also means declines and that civilization, at least thus far, entails hefty measures of savagery. But our species is also learning, I think, to be more circumspect. Many now recognize that even specified and seemingly well-known times and places often have multiple histories. We increasingly understand that no conquest

## ANARCHIST THEORY ADVANCES ANTHROPOLOGY'S HUMANISTIC MISSION

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**A**narchist theory holds promise for advancing our humanistic mission of uncovering information about the past, interpreting it, and distributing it equitably. Specifically, anarchist theory supports the exploration of alternative, liberatory models for conceptualizing archaeological heritage. I have argued (Pacifico 2014; Pacifico and Vogel 2012) that we might move away from property models of archaeological heritage and try strategies that bypass the idea of ownership when facing competing interests in archaeological materials. I see a potential contradiction in our practice, which may be resolved through this alternative approach. Archaeologists argue that archaeology benefits everyone. Yet physical barriers often separate nonprofessionals from archaeological sites and materials while paywalls and copyright laws with murky contours guard articles we author.

Archaeological practice is underpinned by a property model of archaeological materials because those materials are ultimately subject to state protection. States hold the power to do legitimate violence (physical or otherwise) in the protection of cultural materials. Consequently, the humanistic goal of distributing information may be undercut by the very structures that ensure conservation of and professional access to archaeological materials.

The anarchist writings of Kropotkin, Graeber, and Clastres influence my exploration—as does Weber's theorization of the state—because they describe what I've observed in the field. Kropotkin (2008 [1892]) asserts that no individual or group can claim ownership over the riches of civilization because these riches were created by previous generations. Second, Kropotkin asserts that scarcity is a matter of distribution, not a matter of abundance. Many anthropologists agree (e.g., Harrison 2010:13). As a solution, Graeber (2004) favors discursive, noncoercive forms of power in place of violent arbitration and the threat thereof. Clastres's (1989) fieldwork shows this model in action in modern Amazonia. In terms of archaeological materials, Weber's (1946) model of the state holds: it is the entity with the monopoly on legitimate force. While states rarely exercise this monopoly in arbitrating disputes over archaeological material, the fear of state-mandated bulldozing of houses on archaeological sites is often the most palpable experience marginalized populations have with archaeology.

A discursive model that avoids the exclusive boundaries of ownership might better meet the needs of all parties involved: people living near archaeological sites, archaeologists, government officials, archaeological materials themselves, etc. Such discursive

comes without resistance and that the creative and destructive forces unleashed at these emulation-rejection junctures often give rise to exceptionally creative and dynamic cultures and histories. Spicer would be pleased, I think, to know that the conversation he started more than five decades ago has cycled around to include a closer look at resistance processes and consequences among the Native people he so admired.

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relationships might take the form of local and open archaeological commissions committed to frank conversations about the consequences of proposed interventions into/uses of archaeological materials (see Graeber 2004; Pacifico and Vogel 2012:1607).

My exploration of anarchist perspectives is an open one, as I have reservations about the consequences of its application. I recognize that many archaeologists, state officials, and other involved parties are committed both to humanistic social justice and archaeological preservation. Moreover, I fear risks that such an approach might entail. For example, against the bulldozers of organized capital, is not the state the strongest ally? Archaeological heritage management, then, is a conundrum that anarchist theory might help equitably untangle.

I am convinced that archaeological research—like ethnographic research—has liberatory and transcendental potential. These fields reveal that other configurations of the world are possible because other configurations *have* and *do* exist. Anarchist approaches must focus on *critiquing social structures* (e.g., coercive power, impersonal statutes, etc.) and *supporting individuals and groups* (archaeologists, officials, locals, etc.). To do otherwise would be contrary to both anarchist and humanistic principles.

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# ASSEMBLING CONCEPTUAL TOOLS TO EXAMINE THE MORAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES OF THE PAST

Carole Crumley

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**A**narchaeology comes to speak with us, the band of travelers into the Past that is the Society for American Archaeology. The message is that archaeological theory and archaeological practice do not have to go their separate ways, nor must the Past say nothing to the Future. Anarchaeologists see no reason to privilege the excitement of figuring out *how* to study the past from the equally alluring necessity to make sense, and use, of what we find.

Archaeologists have a fierce pride in the stand-alone quality of our practice, in part so that future archaeologists can draw new interpretations from our data. Toward that end, it is useful periodically to take stock of what we have learned and apply it to that which remains to do. Long-standing archaeological best practice, marinated in discussions we SAA archaeologists have had and advances we have made—in social equity, indigenous rights, community governance, and much more—already contains principles that can help revise our collective work on the past to ensure an equitable future.

Several issues are central to anarchaeological practice. Of importance is a commitment to better understand the past and also create vision(s) of our human future. This pivot toward the future can take many forms, but for anarchists it is ultimately an ethical and moral stance from which to critique power and to seek non-authoritarian forms of past and present organizations. The increasing diversity of individual and group identities already requires our discipline to recognize diverse forms of heritage, knowledge, and authority in the future.

Anarchaeology works at ground level. The human relations that count most are trust, empathy, creativity, the value of the individual, and reliance on the community fabric. Such old and basic needs will not be absent in a livable future. These elements are strongest when face-to-face with others, but such principles can also be built into organizations that operate at greater spatial scales. There are advantages in beginning at the human scale—where we know a great deal about

the behavior of individuals and societies—and then working toward that of the planet where, thanks to physical changes not well understood but already in motion, our scenarios for the world of the future are not much more than guesses.

Anarchaeologists thus endeavor to act on these principles. We time travelers all have a few investigative favorites, and those tendencies necessarily color our work. My own collection includes interest in inequality, in forms of sociopolitical organization, and in their intersection with the environment, as you will see from the examples I choose to make a larger point about housecleaning for the future.

## Rethinking Power Relations

The idea of *progress*, central to both classical and later Western philosophy, detached humans from the rest of existence and served as a charter for the domination of an objectified Nature. The persistence of this dualism in Western thought is seen in the medieval Great Chain of Being, which ranked all living things relative to God. Humans were just beneath the angels, and higher than all other living things; European Christians led the ranks of the peoples of the Earth. Power and worth were measured by one's economic and social position in this divine hierarchy.

In the nineteenth century, anthropologists Spencer, Morgan, and others embraced progress and placed it at the service of Euro-American capitalist endeavors at home and abroad. Appropriating evolutionary theory, so-called social Darwinists (who should rightly be termed Spenserians) argued that differences of class, race, and gender were artifacts of a social evolution that paralleled that of our species. They asserted that capitalist domination was natural and the other peoples of the world were relict forms of bygone evolutionary stages.

In this historical context, the nineteenth-century disciplines of anthropology and of archaeology were founded. By the



mid-twentieth century, anthropological theory had moved away from many of the previous century's assumptions, greatly aided in North America by Franz Boas's principled battle against scientific racism and in Europe by two horrific wars. For the most part, archaeological theory addressed these ethical shifts in a piecemeal fashion: strands of archaeology separately addressed environmental archaeology, statecraft, and other themes.

Today's archaeology continues to chip away at what was standard interpretation. Among approaches that have proven valuable are the archaeologies of sex and gender, agency, inequality, community, dwelling, and of the environment; the implications of both old and new technology; the role of states and other hierarchies of power in human societies; and the change in practical and interpretive focus from sites to landscapes. Despite these solid achievements, there has been no call for a general theoretical housecleaning, with which the last remnants of outmoded thinking can be rectified against the impact of new understandings of humans and their societies.

Of continuing importance is the inability to find social organizational schemes other than ethnologist Elman Service's (1962) framework of band, tribe, chiefdom, and state. While dissatisfaction with the Service model has been a theoretical reason for exploring other models, an even greater incentive has been the model's poor fit with much archaeological evidence.

Service himself, an ethnographer and ethnologist, drew attention to the importance of coalitions, federations, leagues, unions, and communities in societies of all sizes. Other ethnographers reported immensely complex kin and exchange networks in "simple" societies (e.g., Elkin 1951, 1964). Despite considerable ethnographic evidence to the contrary, the archaeological interpretation of state hierarchies as the culmination of ordered progress went unquestioned (except in bars) for several decades.

North American archaeologists concentrated on how hegemonic power pyramids were constructed by elites. Political systems were assumed to be more stable the more they tended toward tiered hierarchies of power. This is understandable in a practical sense, as large sites with monumen-

tal architecture are certainly easier to find than homesteads, but they no longer yield as easily as once thought to interpretation, nor are they particularly stable. More tacitly, the focus on certain kinds of power still follows the steps of the nineteenth-century notion of progress.

As recent events demonstrate, "power flows in many channels" (Samford 2000) and can manifest entirely outside the framework of state hierarchies and beyond their control (e.g., Anderson 1983; Scott 2009). In self-organization terminology, this is termed chaos or surprise and is related to a characteristic of hyper-hierarchical societies: systemic negligence in recognizing and engaging other dimensions of power (Crumley 2005).

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If we begin with the premise that the tension between competition and cooperation exists in all human societies, it then behooves us to explore the ways rules and norms permit or deny each, and how both interact with history and changing conditions to forge institutions (Chapman 2003).

From this more neutral perspective, sources of power are counterpoised and linked to values, which are fluid and respond to changing situations. This definition of heterarchy and its application to social systems is congruent with how the brain works: it is not organized hierarchically but adjusts to the re-ranking of values as circumstances change (McCulloch 1945, 1989).

Anarchaeologists and other groups (such as the Integrated History and Future of People on Earth, [www.ihopenet.org](http://www.ihopenet.org)) are working to expand examination of the sociopolitical organization and long-term durability of power pyramids as contrasted with flatter power landscapes, employing other information (e.g., environmental) at multiple scales of time and space, while keeping a focus on the future.

### Politics: Governing the Collective

In all societies, the power of various individuals and factions fluctuates relative to changing circumstances. Today, inherently unstable forms of wealth distribution and political power accumulate, while the stabilizing power of self-organized forms is ignored. Resources worldwide are depleted, environmental conditions deteriorate, and new

threats to democratic principles increase; new ways to stabilize societies and reduce conflict must be found.

One of the most important conditions for reducing conflict is to ensure inclusive and equitable conditions for everyone, particularly as regards food and water security, personal and group safety, and a satisfying quality of life. These needs begin with intimate and local conditions but soon reach to the regional and beyond. Communitarian societies in the archaeological and ethnographic record have become a new focus in the study of past and present societies.

As Anderson (1983) and Scott (1985, 1998, 2009, 2012) demonstrate in their analyses of the progress- and simplification-driven goals of the state, governing elites devalue local knowledge and undermine individuals' capacities for self-governance. This hyper-hierarchical, social engineering perspective values regularity as a precondition of efficiency; nonetheless, the population can make its resistance felt through increased networking, collective representation through institutions (guilds, labor unions), and sabotage.

Following statist economic theories, Garrett Hardin famously asserted that individual self-interest undermines communal action. Hardin's article in *Science* (1968) stimulated controversy and considerable research; now there is

abundant evidence that, throughout human history and to the present day, communities have found ways to organize their collective and individual tasks without central authority (Crumley 2005; Kohring and Wynne-Jones 2007; Lindholm et al. 2013; Netting 1981, 1993; Ostrom 1990; Souvatzi 2008).

It is also becoming clear that annual and more persistent crises (e.g., drought, poverty, war) have profound effects on human organization. Upper Paleolithic peoples seasonally altered modes of political organization (Wengrow and Graeber 2015); late Classic Maya urban centers were abandoned for self-sustaining villages in a long period of crisis (Chase and Scarborough 2014). Pastoralists become urban workers during droughts (Barth 1962). Economies are basins of attraction, not a sorting mechanism of progress.

Such equitable forms of governance go by many names: anarchist, collective, communitarian, and many others. Of recent interest are communities that successfully manage common pool (jointly held) resources. Nobel laureate Eleanor Ostrom and other scholars identified "design principles" of stable common pool resource management that include local knowledge, effective communication, clear rules, monitoring, sanctions, paths for conflict resolution, internal trust, and recognition of self-determination by higher-level authorities. These are principles that apply

## ANARCHY AND SELF-LIBERATION

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As someone strongly committed to trade unionism and collective bargaining, one of my long-term interests has been reading about the lives and activities of anarchists and socialists who lived during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I have generally kept this interest separate from my archaeological efforts, but reading the works of Rosa Luxemburg led me to think more about anarchist ideas and their relevance to archaeological research. In the past few years I have engaged the theoretical literature of anarchism through ideas about self-liberation partially using the concept of mutualism. I used this idea extensively in my 1996 modern world book, for example.

Utopian socialists, modern-day biologists, and even promoters of capitalism have used mutualism in various ways. My understanding of it, however, begins with French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, extends through anthropologist Michael Carithers, and includes ideas from Polish philosopher Leszek Nowak. The left theory of mutualism involves concepts about how individuals and social groups unite for protection against oppression and intense aggression to create better lives for themselves free of dominating power.

equally to anarchist squats, agricultural collectives, community-owned gardens, and employee-owned corporations.

As Ostrom did, after combing through ethnographic accounts, our next steps are to extract this knowledge from the archaeological, historical, and contemporary record, and to learn how to grow and integrate such enterprises and organizations into frameworks that include both ranked and nested structures along with those that are flatter and networked, as well as forms that are yet to be recognized.

Archaeological, ethnographic, and documentary evidence demonstrates great organizational diversity in powerful societies; in North America alone, indigenous Cherokee, Coast Salish, and Iroquois polities utilized careful checks and balances that resulted in “inverted pear” (Suttles 1987) and other organizational forms in which more individuals, groups, and communities could benefit.

Hierarchies and heterarchies of power coexist in all human societies, including states. Societies in which heterarchical values and institutions are dominant are richly networked structures where multiple scales and dimensions are in communication with one another, a condition De Landa (2000) calls a “meshwork.” The power of various factions and individuals fluctuates relative to conditions; most

important are the character and the degree of systemic communication.

In anthropology and archaeology, a general-purpose definition of heterarchy that suits a variety of contexts is the relation of elements to one another when they are unranked, or when they possess the potential for being ranked in a number of different ways, depending on systemic requirements (Crumley 1979:144). This definition offers an *arena* for examining diversity and change in systems, organizations, or structures. In general, heterarchical relationships are sources of difference and dynamism; they may be spatial, temporal, or cognitive, and they take many forms.

Societal dilemmas in which values are in conflict are resolved by achieving a novel, transcendent condition in which competing values are re-ranked at particular scales of time and space. At all levels of integration and over time, new ordering principles come into play. Thus, conflict or inutility leads to suspension of old forms but ensures the preservation of useful elements to provide creative new solutions to challenges (transcendence of older forms). It is in these novel forms that societies retain near-term flexibility, although there is of course no long-term guarantee that the new form is more stable than the old or that tensions will not reappear in another guise.

I am currently exploring the positive and negative elements of mutualism in a long-term analysis of self-liberation. My interest in this topic began with maroonage as a result of my research on seventeenth-century Palmares in Brazil. My many years of excavation in Ireland, focused on a nineteenth-century rural rent strike at a place called Ballykilcline, deepened my interest in the subject. This research, in conjunction with that focused on Palmares, caused me to think more about the physical realities and material elements of self-liberation. Though wholly unique individually, both the Brazilian and the Irish cases involved people who had chosen to break away from an oppressive situation in an attempt to govern themselves on their own terms. The residents of Palmares, after escaping captive enslavement on the Brazilian coast, moved into the backlands to live in a self-liberated community. The tenants of Ballykilcline had decided to cease paying rent to their landlady, Queen Victoria, and began to use the money to improve their standards of living. Both cases involved protracted armed conflicts with an authoritative state, and in both instances those who self-liberated were defeated in violence. The Irish were evicted and transported to the United States, and the people of Palmares were either killed, re-enslaved, or fled into the forests to live elsewhere.

The case studies, though vastly different in time and space, nonetheless exhibit intriguing similarities revolving around how each group decided to self-liberate. The theory of mutualism provides insights into the groups' actions, outcomes, and implications, and archaeological research provides a special perspective on the material aspects of the process of self-liberation.

To re-envision an equitable future for humankind, there must be a means to conceptualize and evaluate shifts and trade-offs between exclusive and inclusive power relations in diverse contexts and at every spatial scale, and to assess their implications for society and their suitability for the future. Here broad theory deserts us: such work must be done in specific places and conditions, and it will ground us.

In a search for ancient forms of organization that can inform the future, a part of our effort must be to examine how networked organizations have been able to elude hierarchical institutions and operate both within and beyond their boundaries. One of the old forms that persists has been anarchy. Far from meaning no order, it specifies an order and set of values that are explicitly local, consensual, without leaders/followers, and not hierarchical. Bose (1967) traces anarchist thought back thousands of years to the first kingdoms and states, and finds anarchist ideas in the work of the Chinese philosopher Lao-tse, Greek Cynics, and Roman Stoics. Were one to add numerous utopian thinkers, the list would be long.

While scarcely characterizing all resistance movements (because many who resist wish to seize power rather than neutralize it), anarchism offers a consistent and coherent philosophical argument against various forms of organizational inequality. It is hardly surprising, then, to find that globalization has revitalized anarchist thought while chaos theory and the Internet have facilitated anarchist practice (e.g., CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective 2001; Graeber 2004, 2007, 2009, 2011; Ludlow 2001; Post 2001; Purkis and Bowen 2004:14; Scott 1985, 1998, 2009, 2012).

Practically speaking, a good place to begin is to reexamine old assumptions about the archaeological record. How might the current Turkish government's attack on free assembly in parks or the Occupy movement's insistence on the importance of *public*-ity reanimate interpretations of ancient spaces that may have been neither wholly public market squares nor places of elite spectacle but, ultimately, a contested theater for both?

**To re-envision an equitable future for humankind, there must be a means to conceptualize and evaluate shifts and trade-offs between exclusive and inclusive power relations in diverse contexts and at every spatial scale, and to assess their implications for society and their suitability for the future. Here broad theory deserts us: such work must be done in specific places and conditions, and it will ground us.**

Some assumptions must then be abandoned. They include the assumption that size precludes certain forms of governance as population increases, outgrowing collaborative solutions. These very forms are a perennial moral compass (family, neighborhood, community-based action). They are not left behind in human evolution; on the contrary, they remain the fabric of peaceable, supportive daily life. The last vestiges of the idea of assured, long-term progress must also be abandoned, and instead we must embrace a sort of political uniformitarianism in which networked forces struggle with those that are tiered and ranked, across all scales. It may be that some scales better accommodate or even necessitate dominance of one over the other. What is assured is that, with time, even that will change.

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# AGAINST TYPOLOGY

## A CRITICAL APPROACH TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL ORDER

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*Science is an essentially anarchistic enterprise: theoretical anarchism is more humanitarian and more likely to encourage progress than its law-and-order alternatives.*

—Paul Feyerabend (1975)

A common thread in anarchical thought concerns an opposition to things that are fixed, essentialized, or set in stone. In opposition to these deterministic characteristics there is a preference for structures that are relevant for the needs at hand. This applies to institutions, systems of laws or rules, sociopolitical relationships, and even analytical categories—including typologies employed by archaeologists. The insistence of rigid categories can lead to a lack of critical thinking, impacting contemporary analysis. In these instances, research proceeds within the confines of normative science (as noted by Kuhn 1962) when rigorous research would dictate an exploration of other approaches. Typologies constitute the archaeological ontologies we apply to understand artifacts, features, sites, cultures, and time periods, as well as categories for archaeological authorities and other recognized stakeholders over heritage. While these can often seem neutral or inert, typologies can not only restrain our thinking but also be witting or unwitting instruments deployed through power relations.

Our title is a play on Paul Feyerabend's (1975) *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge*. Referred to by some as an "enemy of science," Feyerabend advocated for a plurality of approaches to the discipline of scientific inquiry. He argued that scientific knowledge is best pursued as an "anarchic" endeavor, removing ourselves from the default or habitual frames of knowledge associated with normative science. Feyerabend asserted that there should not be just one main method guiding the efforts of science, preferring the anarchy of multiple approaches. Such epistemic rearrangements allow for an anarchic approach to typologies. This approach complements other critiques of scientific methods in that it focuses on processes by which states and hegemonic

ideals influence the production of knowledge. The replication of invisible systemic injustices in governance is exemplified by the unchanging nature of vocabularies that exert control over forms of knowledge. This manifests itself in the ways in which we classify artifacts, strata, and people. This underpinning of epistemic violence constrains archaeological interpretation so that we reproduce monolithic or default ways of categorizing archaeological data. An anarchic approach, against simple or default typologies, is useful for thinking through the archaeological data in different ways. It is time for a more reflexive adoption of anarchist philosophy in the construction of knowledge coming from archaeology.

As many of the pieces in this issue of the *SAA Archaeological Record* show, anarchism is not the chaotic, violent, masked movement many people associate it with. Nor is it a state of disorder or an absolute refusal to recognize leadership, authority, and government as its simplistic connotations may imply. Anarchism is grounded in principles of community and inclusion. It is anti-exploitative and anti-dominative, emphasizing the reconceptualization and redistribution of authority. As such, an anarchist treatise in archaeology, or (A)narchaeology, focuses on implementing an assortment of methods and perspectives that add to our understanding of the past outside normative typological boundaries (Black Trowel Collective 2016). Such research draws upon classic works from Mikhail Bakunin (1950 [1872]), Peter Kropotkin (1972 [1902]), or Emma Goldman (1969 [1910]), as well as from recent works in anthropology (Barclay 1982; Graeber 2004, 2007; Morris 2014; Scott 2009). These have led to anarchist-influenced works in archaeology (Angelbeck and Grier 2012; Flexner 2014; Wengrow and Graeber 2015).

To be against normative typologies should not be read as being opposed to the use of types as an analytical tool. What is in question is the establishment of normative values based on classifications that have colonial (which we would argue includes capitalist, patriarchal, and sexist/cis-sexist)

epistemologies. At the base of archaeological interpretations are precisely these units of classification, which is why it is so very important for us to think carefully about how we establish a framework for interpreting archaeological material. However, as recent events involving the Dakota Access Pipeline near the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota (and elsewhere) have shown us, even the notion of “site” is subject to the abuse of authoritarian figures hoping to exploit resources, land, and people in order to increase financial gains. In order to understand the impact of such events on archaeological interpretation, we must contend with issues of epistemic injustice through processes of decolonization, which the openness of an (A)narchaeological framework allows (cf. Rizvi 2015).

The process of decolonization deconstructs systems of power; that is to say, it can be the process by which the internal and systemic contradictions within archaeological methodology, stemming from a colonial history, are made transparent. The postcolonial critique necessitates a reinterpretation of the prehistoric past, beginning with an examination of the most basic of all archaeological practice, the collection and classification of archaeological data. Epistemic inequality is systematic and structural in the manner through which knowledge about the past is formulated and structurally (re)instantiated. That structural inequality is the framework within which an epistemic injustice takes place or can happen, specifically in relation to testimonial injustice and silencing (Fricker 2007).

By keeping other options for typologies open, we can seek a plurality of epistemological approaches toward the archaeological record. And although we begin with Feyerabend’s critique, his framework by no means binds our approach. Rather, utilizing it as a useful springboard, we have found that our critique is in keeping with recent developments in collaborative and community-oriented archaeologies that explicitly call for—and welcome—a diversity of approaches toward the past, especially indigenous ones or those of descendant communities. This allows us to maintain some cognitive checks upon our ethnocentric biases toward Western methods and approaches. Therefore, we find anarchist principles useful when emphasizing the need to integrate multiple ways of investigating and interpreting the past. This calls us to seek a plurality of epistemological approaches to the archaeological record. Our examples above show where anarchist principles may be especially useful to archaeological epistemologies by incorporating indigenous and/or descendant voices in archaeological research and its processes of production (e.g., legislation, academic publication, online postings, and other media).

In many ways, archaeologists have often made this point about our own use of typologies. For decades archaeologists have argued against the fixed nature of the categories we use, in order to better our analyses (Wylie 2002). In the 1940s John Otis Brew (1946) critiqued “The Use and Abuse of Taxonomy” in archaeological works. He also emphasized that his commentary was “not an attack on taxonomic methods as such,” but that he suggests a “critical examination of our own thinking, including those archaeological concepts which at any given time we consider as ‘basic’ or ‘established’” (Brew 1946:45). He writes,

As archaeologists we must classify our material in all ways that will produce for us useful information. I repeat. We need more rather than fewer classifications, different classifications, always new classifications, to meet new needs. We must not be satisfied with a single classification of a group of artifacts or of a cultural development, for that way lies dogma and defeat. We are, or should be, in search of all of the evidence our material holds. Even in simple things no single analysis will bring out all that evidence [Brew 1946:65].

Similarly, William Y. Adams and Ernest W. Adams (1991; cited in Wylie 1992) argued that our typologies should be instrumental and practical, serving our analytical purposes. To this end, our typologies need to be “mutable and always to some extent experimental.” Moreover, archaeologists should be in a critical and dialectical relationship with our typologies, whether for sorting artifacts or classifying cultures. In a recent work, Cristobal Gnecco and Carl Langebaek (2014) argue “Against Typological Tyranny,” finding that typologies, when used uncritically, constrain archaeological ideas and practices. They maintain that typological categories often lend to a lazy use of universal or essentializing categories. Further, they remark that historically, “typologies, like any other social product, do not escape ideological struggles” (Gnecco and Langebaek 2014:v). These arguments parallel our own position here about the use of typologies, both in the manner of sharpening our archaeological thinking and practice as well as critically monitoring the use of typologies as deployed through power relations.

Another example regards the classification of societies themselves into situational and relational categories that depart from the stronghold of the political model concerning bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states (Service 1962), as well as the divisions of egalitarian, ranked, and stratified (Fried 1967). These divisions brought with them the notion that bands and tribes are generally decentralized and egalitarian, while

chiefdoms and states are predominantly centralized and hierarchical. Constricting research objectives and interpretations and their presentation to the public within these bounds overlooks a wealth of diversity and means of traversing between these categories.

For a time, many archaeologists were content (or forced) to classify societies within these appropriate boxes—including us! Yet, there are numerous societies that do not quite fit these typologies, including complex villagers of the Natufian Ancient Near East, Northwest Coast foragers in North America, and Middle Woodland societies in eastern North America. In these cases, the focus on hierarchical versus egalitarian societies obscures the immense diversity of social structures. Perhaps a more useful distinction is between hierarchy and heterarchies, or societies in which there are numerous ways to organize, and opt out of, systems of authority. Egalitarian societies are rarely societies of true equals, but always represent a spectrum of individuals with authority earned by knowledge, skill, or experience that are better, or more accurately, termed heterarchies (Crumley 1995). However, there are increasing forms of authority that are formalized temporarily or situationally, as with war leaders in the Pacific Northwest who, in times of conflict, gained high degrees of control. In fact, these societies had numerous powerful chiefs, some with hereditary positions, even within the same village. The point is that heterarchical societies can manifest among peoples organized at different scales in an immense variety of ways (Crumley 1995; Stark 2009).

Instead of focusing on how we can stuff one of these societies into the boxes mentioned earlier, it would be useful to consider alternate, or a variety of, models and categories that apply to understanding such social phenomena. It is important to understand that although debates related to social archaeology have been ongoing for decades, an explicitly anarchic framework switches the mode of knowledge production. It recalls a form of archaeological pluralism from early post-processual debates, reconsiders its political efficacy, and transforms it to be contemporary, political, and urgent. Clearly, the past few decades of *posts* (i.e., post-processual, post-modern, post-structural, and post-humanist) have not managed to dislodge the deep-seated problem of inequity in archaeology.

Many social scientists have sought to put societies of the past and present into discussions highlighting their level of complexity without much consideration of the possibilities of existing as simultaneously complex and not complex, egalitarian and hierarchical (cf. Wengrow and Graber 2015). This is most clearly seen when dealing with temporal typologies

that many of us refer to as culture history. As archaeologists we are trained to divide social phenomena into units of time, often tagged with the nebulous designation of “culture.” This has been interrogated through the development of time perspectivism within archaeological theory (Bailey 2007; Holdaway and Wandsnider 2008), critical readings on the notion of deep time and prehistory (Schmidt and Mrozowski 2013), and through discourses around chronopolitics (Witmore 2014). This is a direct result of archaeology’s own historiography; many of these typologies were developed prior to the rigor of the modern chronometric revolution. Archaeologists have noted the utility to move beyond just categorizations of temporal units. For instance, Gavin Lucas (2005:27) has argued that we need to move “beyond chronology,” past our simplistic classifications of time periods in order to “open up new possibilities of doing archaeology and interpreting the past.” Others have argued for moving “beyond culture history” to more concretely assess historical dynamics in the past (e.g., Ritchie et al. 2016).

Partially due to the multitude of chronological advances now possible ( $^{14}\text{C}$  AMS, TL, OSL, Bayesian modeling), partially due to changes in our understandings of past material worlds, we are seeing the walls of culture history bending and breaking all over the world. Very simply put, this means that homogenizing the markers of culture history is no longer accurate and causes more confusion in the literature than it helps. This is reflected in a variety of examples across eastern North America like the traditional separation of Adena (earlier and less complex) and Hopewell (later and more complex) (see Lepper et al. 2014). Similarly, categories such as Terminal Late Woodland and Emergent Mississippian—used to describe social changes in the American Bottom along the boundaries of the first millennium A.D.—grow blurred as new information suggests a blending of multiple traditions occurred during the process of “Mississippianization” (see Alt 2002, 2006; Barrier and Horsley 2014). Comparable issues also pervade South Asian archaeology in the distinctions between Microlithic and Mesolithic cultures in Northern India. An anarchistic archaeology has the potential to become a direct intervention into the ways in which we create or reuse vocabulary specific to our regional archaeological landscapes. Once we acknowledge the spectrum of time and types, we allow for a fluidity to exist between both. This is mediated by the possibility of more precise chronological and material markers emerging.

Our emphasis on “no labels” is not declaring that labels or typologies are bad in and of themselves, but rather that the focus of our analyses should be on useful distinctions that help us understand variability and dynamics in the past.



Classifying for the sake of classifying puts things into boxes that are hard to bend or break. An anarchic approach to typology does not emphasize the items categorized but the relationships between the set of artifacts, features, humans, or sites. In this vein, relational perspectives and archaeologies (Hunt 2014; Todd 2014, 2016; Watts 2013; Zedeño 2009) offer an interesting (and implicitly anarchic) approach to the past. Nevertheless, we emphasize that if we can ground our thinking in a plurality of typologies, we are more likely to break our focus on singular ways of viewing assemblages or conducting analyses on sites or regional settlement patterns. We hope that a focus on pluralism grounded in anarchic philosophy provides a chance for archaeology to know the past in multiple ways. In doing so, we aspire to document and present the past from a multitude of directions, all of which provide a better context and direction for humans in the present.

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## PHANTASMAL FUTURES, SPECULATIVE TITLES

### From the Imagination of James Birmingham—Ex-PhD Student; Institute for Anarchist Studies

Object Liberation: Moving beyond Human Liberation and Animal Liberation

Not Just Civic: Toward an Anarchist Public Archaeology

Thinking Horizontally: Heterarchy and Homoarchy vs. Monolithic Anarchist Conceptions of Hierarchy

Were They Drunk? A Survey of Anarchist Catalonia Focused on The Bottle

Anarchist Garbology: Dumpster Diving through History

From the Talking Stick to Progressive Stack: The Archaeology of Diffuse Sanctions

Flintknapping for Revolutionaries: Experimental Archaeology as Prefigurative Practice

Remembering Conviviality: Ivan Illich and Anarchist Technology

Not Food, Not Tools: A Veganarchist Adventure in Zooarchaeology

Turn Left Here: The Anarchist Turn in Archaeology in Relation to the Ontological Turn

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# AN ANARCHIST ARCHAEOLOGY FOR THE ANTHROPOCENE

## A MANIFESTO

Theresa Kintz

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**P**ast, present, and future are contentious words in the Anthropocene, the geological epoch proposed by contemporary scientists in recognition of the fact that human activity has come to be the dominant force shaping the earth's systems. The first epoch induced by a single species. Our species. Yet, a tentative knowledge of the past, the politics of the present, and a long-standing reluctance to engage in deliberation about the future have hobbled archaeology's participation in the discourse about the Anthropocene. An anarchist archaeology that embraces the tentative, critiques the politics of the present, and focuses on elucidating the possibilities of a radically different future is emerging. It is non-authoritative but compelling. It respects senses, feelings, and experiences as much as thoughts and theories. Its place in the dialectic is that of antithesis, rising in opposition to the dominant worldview that has brought humanity to the brink of an ecological catastrophe.

Green anarchists, deep ecologists, radical environmental activists, proponents of re-wilding movements, and other scholars interested in repairing humanity's relationship with the earth and other species often look to archaeology for answers to the profound questions our arrival in the Anthropocene poses. How did we get here? And more importantly, how can we find a way out? There are anarchist archaeologists who feel a sense of solidarity with those on this quest. Believing that an understanding of the past just may hold some key to the future, we feel compelled to work to change our profession to one where archaeologists are participants in, not just observers of, social change. This essay describes the view from seven paths in a present-oriented, activist, anarchist, poetic archaeology landscape: the view from the field, the museums, CRM reports, indigenous communities, green anarchism, the academy, and finally, the archaeologists. These are vistas that see possibilities on the horizon for contributing to a much needed paradigmatic shift for the Anthropocene age.

### The Field

The view from the field is vast and expansive. It is from this path we get the clearest view. Small groups of nomadic people laboring under the sun with a shared sense of purpose. Talking, laughing, helping each other accomplish daily tasks using minds and bodies in concert. The digger sees, hears, smells, tastes, and touches the communities as they were in the past and as they are now. Spending days collecting bits of stone, noting remnants of ancient fires, and bisecting deteriorated posts. Our project is recovering the ephemeral traces of those who lived in a place in the past. We develop a feeling of kinship with them as we bring understanding of their lives into the present. Our day done, we travel back to the future down asphalt roads. Passing the steel and concrete Walmart with a billion objects inside. Still focused on the material manifestations of culture, we can't help but contemplate the import of all these plastic, metal, glass, and ceramic objects and the toxic chemicals they contain. Passing people in cars, faces in office windows staring at computer screens as we drive through a landscape virtually void of flora and fauna. We travel through time, every day, with a sense of wonder.

On the horizon we can imagine field archaeologists infusing society with this sense of marvel over humanity's collective journey. Inviting those inside the Walmarts, cars, and offices to time travel with us. Using existing affinity groups, we devise ways to sow the seeds of wonder cultivated from perspectives we've gained traversing the path back and forth between the Pleistocene and the Anthropocene.

This anarchist field archaeologist looks for opportunities to subvert the dominant paradigm that views humans as separate from nature, each other, and from the past. The connections and the continuity are apparent to her. Time travel has made her aware of the myriad of configurations that have





and could exist: different types of human and interspecies relationships, economic organization, norms and values, art, rituals . . . anything is possible. These are her insights, and they give her hope for the future.

### The Museum

The view from the museum offers a literal window into the dawning of the Anthropocene. But it is a frame of reference that limits and distorts. A walk through a conventional museum takes one on a tour of the material manifestations of culture through time and space. The artifacts cleaned up and extracted from their matrices providing a visual metaphor for human beings' mastery. The elements, reconfigured by hubris. Under a roof, each well lit, with explanatory text; the grand idea conveyed is one of accomplishment. Certain people (who?) made these things, each more complex than the previous version. Bravo? The substance of the Anthropocene on display.

On the horizon we imagine a proliferation of pop-up museums. Any place is a suitable venue: a parking lot, a friend's backyard, a public park, a campground, along the bank of a river, or beside a bank. An archaeologist stops and tells a story of how where we are now, in this very place, people

lived for millennia—of how objects encapsulate amazing stories of everyday life. Everyone is invited to tell stories about things. No claims of expertise or objectivity are necessary. The important part is contemplating things made and left in the past, and things we are making and leaving today.

This anarchist archaeologist publicly ponders the connection between a wickiup and a double-wide, and the differences between sitting on a stump, a boardroom chair, or a golden throne. Weapons, toys, tools, containers, architecture, boats, bicycles, skirts, books, balloons. What ARE these things? Just think about it. She explains how the concept of ownership evolved, and how it is a provisional fiction we are conditioned to accept but could at any time reject. She asks whether we have lost control over things over time? Are they now in control of us? She shares her views to thrust open windows to new possibilities of how to think about things.

### The CRM Report

The view from the CRM report is obscured as if in a mine cave. The raw material we call data is concentrated and hidden in basement archives. The CRM report is crystallized knowledge. Just as in the allegory of Plato's cave there are only shadows, reflections, and assigned meanings. The writing on the wall, indeed. The path to the Anthropocene is







paved in the written word, a material both inert and potent. Humanity has become entirely dependent on this material. We are all forced to produce it and forced to consume it our entire lives. Few ever question whether this modern enterprise of the petrification of observation and insight is really of benefit?

On the horizon we can imagine the information we've unearthed being brought into the light in face-to-face communion as all knowledge was once conveyed. The story is a traveler's tale of the journey to the Anthropocene. Make this a priority, archaeologist! No clan is better prepared to escort societies down this path of discovery than us. But avoid the clannish tendency to use an obfuscating language the uninitiated can't penetrate. Put a section describing the Anthropocene in every CRM report to shine light onto the path that may lead to an exit out of the cave.

This anarchist archaeologist always questions the authority of experts and of the written word. She believes listening and talking is better than reading and writing. As she prepares her report she is mindful of its contents' revolutionary potential. Though she laments that her work is helping the client literally pave the way deeper into the Anthropocene, she is

always hopeful that the material she is producing will at some point undermine all the hubristic projects she facilitates.

### Indigenous Communities

The view from the path through ancestral homelands reveals truths that must be confronted. The march through history that brought us to the Anthropocene can certainly be called a trail of tears. Imperialism, slavery, and genocide. Join us, obey us, or perish, the conquerors commanded. The obliteration of communities and lifeways that stood the test of time for millennia took place all along the way. All over the world this was called progress; the process of civilization. We cannot avert our eyes from archaeology's role in this colonialist course, in theory and practice.

On the horizon we can imagine a flourishing of indigenous communities' contributions toward a greater understanding of the myriad of archaeologically known paths. Native peoples' voices and views are integral to this project. The roads they have traveled offer insights for all who have been marginalized through domination. Stories of societies buried under invading civilizations contain valuable lessons on how to be resilient; lessons that must be learned for the sake of the future of humanity.

This anarchist archaeologist sits around powwow campfires listening to those who are teaching about how to honor Mother Earth. She risks romanticizing her own pre-Anthropocene





ancestors who lived lives that were egalitarian and ecologically sustainable, where the guiding principle was the greatest amount of good for the greatest amount of living things. She is not a romantic about the history of warfare, exploitation, conquest, domination; she knows it is the history of all humankind. But she sees possibilities in indigenous peoples' perspectives for helping all of us avert this path of misery in the future.

### The Academics

The view from the ivory tower creates double-vision. Academies are the fortresses of the Anthropocene. Dueling populations dwell inside; those who brought us here and those who believe they may find a way out. All have a vested interest in defending their positions. They watch the destruction of the vast landscape below occurring before their very eyes. Documenting it in great detail they imagine themselves saving humanity from a cataclysm as they ring the alarm. This is an illusion. Where they're viewing it from is part of the problem, not part of the solution. Dismantling, abandoning the tower seems impossible. Where would we go? What would we do? It is better to stay up here and do our important work!

On the horizon we can imagine academics acknowledging that the war elites ignited when they ascended into these towers, seeking control of and power over all living things, has been lost. They'll realize the solution to the ecological catastrophe facing humanity will not be found by delving ever deeper into a mechanistic worldview, nor in abstract

social theorizing that can't get past the great divide between subject and object. They will climb down and join the folk on the ground walking the path toward making peace with the earth.

This anarchist archaeologist respects those who have worked hard to attain knowledge and wisdom. But she has always bitten the hand that feeds her. She hungrily learned from but doesn't feel beholden to masters. She shares knowledge freely; she doesn't recognize "intellectual property." She rejects the status and rank that are the currency of the academies. She has seen those standing on the parapet using guile, claims of objectivity, and cynical rhetoric as shields in order to defend the perimeter of the status quo. She did her time in the tower chained to a chair in front of the computer screen, but she has broken free. She is sieging the tower using weapons they taught her to use. She is a warrior for the wild.

### The Green Anarchists

Green anarchists walk with cats, kestrels, otters, whales, and sand fleas; through the Grand Canyon under piñon pines; the Sahara Desert crossing wadis; the Loess Plateau passing clusters of mugwort; along the cliffs of the Black Sea; the shores of Lake Titicaca; the banks of the Wabash River; in the sun, under the starry night sky, knee-deep in snow and drenched in the pouring rain viewing all places and all living things. On this path all are equal and desiring of the same destiny: to live out their lives freely and flourish unmolested. Only the human green anarchists have voices that carry in the Anthropocene. They say it is our species dragging everything on earth down a path of destruction.





On the horizon we can imagine the paths of the green anarchist and the archaeologist converging. Their common project is to look for a detour, a way to avoid the collision course human beings are on with each other and the earth. The archaeologist brings knowledge that has the power of persuasion in a world where only the educated elite are bestowed with legitimacy. The green anarchist brings passion born of a sensual knowledge that comes from experience and feeling the wildness within. They are bonded in their commitment to questioning authority and rejecting hierarchy, and in their belief in equal rights for all living things.

This green anarchist archaeologist's point of view stems from profound compassion and empathy rather than scien-

tific and intellectual arguments. She watched a delicate butterfly that had traveled a thousand miles only to be hit by a car while flitting across a road. Witnessing this single unnecessary tragedy was enough to compel her to act fiercely in defense of the butterfly. She fights for the wild, for to do nothing would simply be unbearable.

### The Archaeologists

The view from the path of the archaeologists is one that always looks backward. Stumbling along, unwilling to look ahead at the dangerous road unfolding before all of us. The discipline being made ever more quaint and irrelevant by our refusal to turn and face the profound obstacles in

## ANARCHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY: TOWARD A DECENTRALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

James Arias Fajardo and Sophie Marie Rotermund

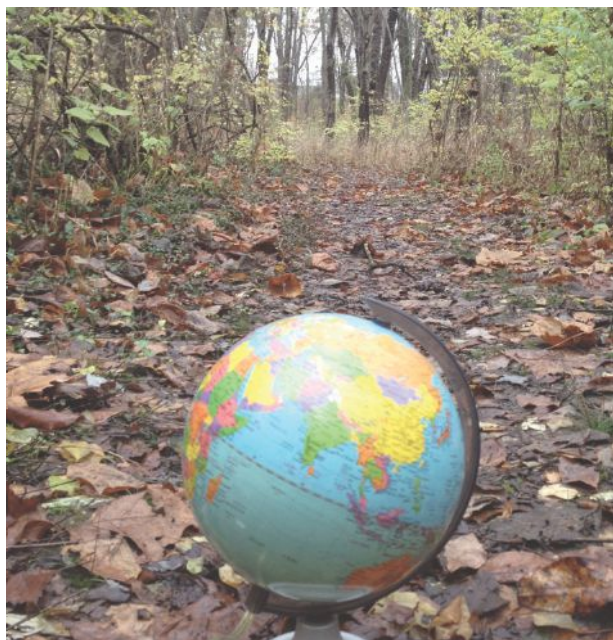
*James Arias Fajardo and Sophie Marie Rotermund both work for the project Anarchäologie and are also students at Universität Hamburg.*

Our project *Anarchäologie* (<http://anarchaeologie.de/2016/05/19/wer-sind-wir/>) came about earlier this year, but we had been thinking about it for years. The focus of *Anarchäologie* is not on the research and implementation of anarchist ideas in archaeological and historical theories but on the methods. We work for the decentralization of power, knowledge, and access to science. We want to change and shape, together with the public, the external and internal structure of archaeology.

Concepts from the *Tübingen Theses* on archaeology (<http://www.dguf.de/389.html>), which were disseminated in May 2015, had a strong influence on our project. They concretely and very clearly expose problems in professional archaeology such as the degree of isolation of the discipline from general society. The proposals of the *Tübingen Theses* are revolutionary. The theses include calls to question and even abolish the power imbalance between “scientific experts” and the “common people” and to develop strategies to find a common language in order to better communicate with the public. We were electrified!

*Anarchäologie* tries to contribute to this process through interesting and dynamic video shorts. Our goal is to decentralize knowledge and access to knowledge and make the exchange of information much more transparent between specialists and the public. We want to make science freely accessible and easy to understand to the public—including complex topics like gender and archaeology or power and archaeology. We also try to network with people and institutions and encourage legal cooperation with metal detector users. To accomplish these goals, we use animated videos in which we communicate basic knowledge about archaeological topics using artistic sketches and diagrams with narration.

For us, science means communication and the constant reflection of our own thoughts, ideas, and theories. Scientific discussions and participation should be accessible to anyone, through not only “open access” and “open data” documents, lectures, and videos, but also through an open language that is easy to understand and use. We think this will encourage exchanges between many different groups invested in archaeology. This exchange isn't only beneficial for the public, though. It is absolutely in the interest of professional archaeologists to help citizens make well-founded decisions in archaeological matters. Increased civic participation would also strengthen the collective appreciation of our cultural heritage.



humanity's path. It is funny, because we recognize many of them from the ruins of our excavations. All along the ancient roads to the Anthropocene lie the material remains of cities long gone. We document the detritus. We theorize about the who, what, when, where, why, and how all of this happened? Archaeologists are the war correspondents of the Anthropocene conflict, reporting on the battles among humans, and between humans and the rest of the living things we share this planet with.

On the horizon we envision archaeologists joining the rising tide of resistance by shining light on all of those features of culture we can now reasonably argue, from our vast spatial and temporal vantage point, are detrimental to life on earth. The anarchist archaeologists focus on hierarchy with an aim to deconstruct the central idea that human civilization represents the pinnacle of the evolutionary process. We are but one species among many inhabiting the planet. One that has made many grave mistakes as a result of hubris. Going forward, how can we learn to live together with each other, and all living things, simply and in peace? Are there lessons from the past we can apply to this project? Yes. It is a simple notion that once grasped could forever alter the course of history.

This anarchist archaeologist lives as the antithesis. She sees the current modes of social organization, economic relationships,

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**The challenge for humanity has always been to find our way along a fluid and infinitely shifting path. This green anarchist archaeologist poses questions about past, present, and future as she is dancing down a path toward self-discovery and personal liberation, wildly laughing and singing, with love and rage.**

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technological entanglements and lack of empathy between species as pushing the world down a path of suffering. She is screaming: Please wait! Stop and think! Look where we have been and where we are heading! She contests the idea that this path called "progress" is inevitable. She uses every tool in her toolbox to refute claims that the momentum in this direction of ever-more complex systems is unstoppable. She calls attention to the fact that there have been more

harmonious modes of existence. She contends it is possible for us to learn again how to walk gently on the earth.

### Paths Going Forward

These are personal views of what an anarchist archaeology for the Anthropocene looks like from here. Everyone must walk their own path. Where I have been, what I have seen, the path I have traveled is different than yours. It is my view of the horizon cast by my journey.

Archaeologist, green anarchist, feminist, scholar, warrior for the wild . . . These are mere words I shout here and now as shorthand, hoping whoever is close to me on the road hears and responds. Such labels never describe who we have been or who we are becoming. Rejecting names, rejecting identity, rejecting definition are steps to take on the path to thinking freely. Rejecting convention, rejecting authority, rejecting hierarchy, rejecting conformity are steps that can be taken by those of us who imagine a different world is possible and that resistance is fertile.

The challenge for humanity has always been to find our way along a fluid and infinitely shifting path. This green anarchist archaeologist poses questions about past, present, and future as she is dancing down a path toward self-discovery and personal liberation, wildly laughing and singing, with love and rage . . .



# ANARCHIC THEORY AND THE STUDY OF HUNTER-GATHERERS

Matthew C. Sanger

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**T**he study of hunter-gatherers, long a mainstay of archaeological research, is currently enjoying a resurgence of interest—largely focused on questions of complexity (e.g., Arnold et al. 2016). A greater appreciation of hunter-gatherer complexity has helped reverse more than a century of unilineal thinking in anthropology and instead refocus attention on the myriad ways non-agrarian peoples, both the past and the present, often organized themselves in complex manners. While archaeological understandings of hunter-gatherer complexity have advanced dramatically in the last 40 years, remarkably little attention has been paid to complexity's counterpoint; rather than being a subject of study, simplicity is often taken to be a preexisting condition and a "natural" state hardly worth investigating (although see Bettinger 2015). Ignoring simplicity, or relegating it to the edges of our analytical programs, is detrimental to our understanding of both past and present peoples. Research, often by anarchist writers, shows simplicity, defined in part as balanced power relations, is rarely simple; rather, it is an achievement for many people who value self-governance and equality of entitlement. As such, simplicity should be a point of study equivalent to the study of complexity, particularly within the study of hunter-gatherers whose societies are often characterized as egalitarian, balanced, or heterarchical.

Within this short article, I offer a rather binary understanding of simplicity and complexity to largely mean the absence or presence of entrenched societal imbalances. This is clearly an essentialist stance, but I do so because it serves a goal—I am arguing in favor of studying power equality with the same enthusiasm as we study inequality and so have little time to offer nuanced understandings of each. I also focus on hunter-gatherers within this article even while acknowledging that defining people based on the means by which they feed themselves is, at best, problematic. I do so, again quite purposefully, because I am responding to a vast field of study predefined as based on hunter-gatherers and therefore quite resistant to fine-grained discussion within a short article.

Accepting these caveats, I suggest that the study of hunter-gatherers requires a renewed appreciation for simplicity through three adjustments—first, we must recognize that simple social systems often require a great deal of energy to form and maintain; second, we need to appreciate the ways in which power-hungry individuals are often contested through acts of "counter-power"; and third, we should be willing to accept that "counter-power" often exists prior to the emergence of a centralizing authority.

Although none of these ideas are new, they currently reside at the peripheries of our major theoretical understandings of the past. In contrast, anarchic theory has a long history of studying how balanced power relations can be formed through active discouragement of power centralization. As such, anarchic theory, long ignored by academics, is particularly well suited to understanding simplicity in both modern and ancient worlds.

## Complexity, Simplicity, and the Study of Hunter-Gatherers

For decades, hunter-gatherers were viewed by both anthropologists and archaeologists as exemplars of simplicity. While there were a few cautionary voices, the "Man the Hunter" model dominated anthropological and archaeological discourse and helped define hunter-gatherer communities as small, mobile, and egalitarian. Simplicity remained the dominant paradigm until the 1970s and 1980s, when research began to show a significant number of non-agrarian peoples engaged in activities once thought to occur only in agricultural societies. Over the last 40 years the list of "precocious" activities practiced by hunter-gatherers has grown and now includes examples of monument building, village formation, long-distance exchange, creation of larger societal bodies, promotion of sociopolitical conflict, and enactment of large-scale organized ritual activities. The discovery and appreciation of these practices has rewritten our understanding of hunter-gatherers and led a number of archaeologists to describe many as "complex."

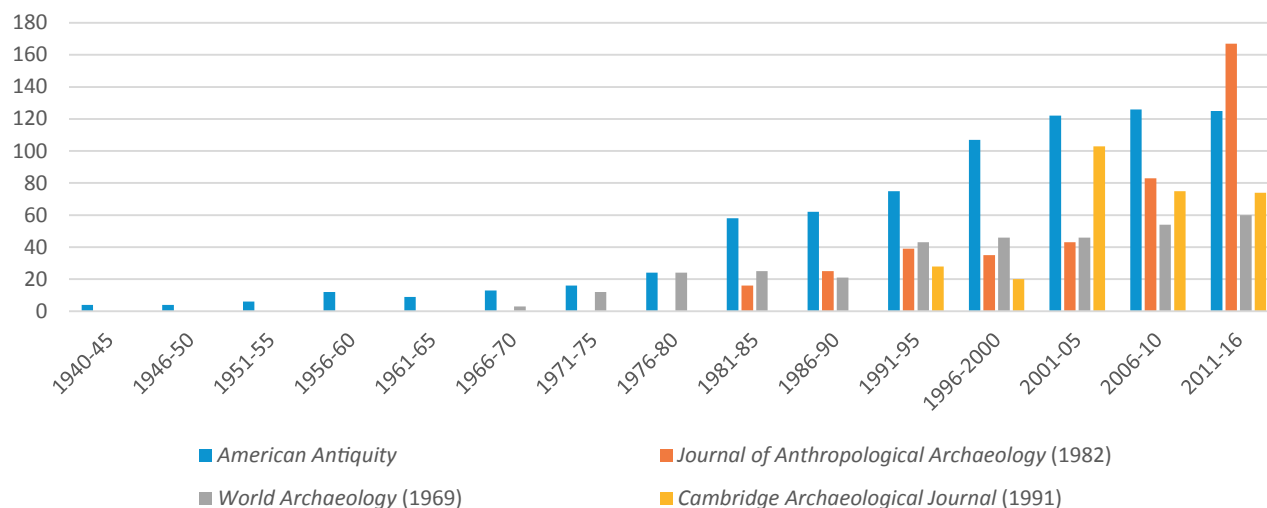


Figure 1. Graph of articles with “complex” or “complexity” and “hunter-gatherer.” Search conducted using Google Scholar on October 14, 2016. Year in parentheses notes when the journal started if post-1940.

While there are several notable exceptions (e.g., Bettinger 2015), over the last four decades the search for hunter-gatherer complexity has become a central research goal within archaeology (Figure 1). The result of this focus is that societies, structures, and practices deemed as complex (or at least vying for the label) get the lion’s share of research and publication attention while less complex practices and peoples receive less scrutiny.

As the search for hunter-gatherer complexity has increased, a great deal of disagreement has arisen over whether past hunter-gatherer complexity was common or limited to only a few examples. Likewise, defining complexity has been a difficult process, particularly within hunter-gatherer contexts in which some aspects appear complex (such as the creation of large-scale monuments), while others are far less so (often the lack of institutionalized power imbalances). Some (e.g., Arnold et al. 2016) have explicitly linked entrenched social imbalances to societal complexity and argue that they many past hunter-gatherer groups were complex. Others (e.g., Binford 2001) instead view hunter-gatherer complexity and entrenched social imbalances as a late development and relegated to a few societies living in highly productive ecological areas.

Whichever side is correct, there are a significant number of hunter-gatherer communities, both historic and archaeological, that are described as simple, egalitarian, and otherwise lacking the hallmarks of complexity (e.g., Winterhalder 2001; Woodburn 1980). The study of these simple hunter-gatherers,

unlike their complex brethren, is dominated by deterministic models in which balanced social structures are often the result of particular ecological conditions (e.g., Bettinger 2015) or are simply taken for granted. Although we have long been warned against assuming simplicity is a “natural state” (Trigger 1990), archaeologists have typically assumed that egalitarianism and equality arise with little or no effort, while elitism and horizontal power systems require energetic input. The vocabulary we use is quite telling as we often talk of “emergent elitism,” “achieved specialization,” and “attaining power,” yet we rarely, if ever, discuss the “rise of simplicity.”

The lack of archaeological engagement with simplicity is surprising given that there is a rich ethnographic literature, largely drawn from hunter-gatherers, in which detailed accounts of “counter-power” are given. Counter-power can be defined as any act designed to degrade, diffuse, or debilitate the centralization and institutionalization of power (Graeber 2004). Within hunter-gatherer communities, ethnographic accounts are brimming with descriptions of counter-power, including “leveling mechanisms” like ostracism, public disgrace, and violence, used to resist centralization of authority (Cashdan 1980; Woodburn 1982). Ethnographic accounts of hunter-gatherers also report community ethos in which individual ownership over materials is quite tenuous and “demand-sharing” often occurs (Peterson 1993). The result of leveling mechanisms and demand-sharing is a relatively even distribution of material wealth within many societies and an active discouragement of centralized control over resources. Ethnographic accounts also highlight how mobil-

ity and residential distribution interact with the formation of social structures as highly mobile hunter-gatherers are often thinly dispersed across a landscape and quite difficult to exert authority over (Kelly 1995). Mobility also plays out in small-scale decision-making as individuals or families can “vote with their feet” when broader community decisions are not to their liking and move elsewhere—further defusing any attempt at building centralized authoritative structures.

The studies cited above suggest that hunter-gatherer simplicity was once an important research direction within anthropology and was marked by an understanding that equality was often attained through direct action. My suggestion that we return to a study of hunter-gatherer simplicity is not to suggest that we return to the “Man the Hunter” paradigm and disregard the massive gains made over the last 40 years. Instead, I suggest that archaeologists would be wise to attend to the more “simplistic” aspects of past hunter-gatherer communities—particularly in terms of how authority, power, and decision-making are often dispersed and contextualized within these communities. It is important to not homogenize our understanding of simplicity, however; rather, we ought to focus on the various ways in which equality is defined, attained, and protected within different communities.

### Reversing the Lens Using Anarchic Theory

I suggest that anarchic theory is particularly well suited to understanding how balanced power systems can be attained and therefore is especially applicable to studying hunter-gatherers. Anarchism has a deep intellectual history yet is poorly understood by academics and the public, who equate anarchy with disorder, violence, and mayhem. Tied together by an interest in self-governance, equality of entitlement, and voluntary power relations marked by reciprocity and unfettered association, anarchists emphasize the importance of individual decision-making and equality of power relations as central to human fulfillment. There are significant divisions within anarchy regarding the primacy of individual liberties or communal good, the place of technology as a source of liberation or domination, and the proper place of authority in relation to experience and ability. Nonetheless, anarchists are united in their negative view of vertical power structures and their shared goal to find alternative means of social organization in which their ideals of equality are preserved (see Amster et al. 2009 for a review of current anarchist studies across academia).

From an archaeological point of view, anarchic theory holds great potential because it flips many presupposed notions of human development and society on their head. Points of “dissolution” or “devolution” in which vertical power struc-

tures fail and societies “collapse” into more simple configurations can be seen instead as the successful promotion of horizontal structures and the development of more just societies. Likewise, long periods of reported “stagnation” can instead be viewed as times marked by remarkable achievement in which balance was achieved and preserved over generations. For anarchists, the formation of increased “complexity” is perilous to the degree that opportunities for centralized authority and personal advancement are increased and the study of complexity therefore becomes one focused on how elitism was or was not combatted.

The archaeological study of decentralized power structures and active resistance to authority has become increasingly common and often benefits from Marxist, postcolonial, feminist, and indigenous critiques that highlight the importance of class, gender, and race in formulating power structures. Anarchic theory shows similar promise as it has the potential to refocus academic attention toward the social and political effects of voluntary association, direct action, individual autonomy, and horizontal power structures based on consensual decision-making (McLaughlin 2007). Anarchism also has unique understandings of how authority can be earned and preserved within a society while retaining balanced power relations (Bakunin 1970 [1871]). Much of this balance emerges out of contextualizing and limiting the status of decision-makers to particular situations, therefore frustrating attempts at centralizing power (Kropotkin 1910). Together, anarchists offer a nuanced understanding of simplicity and balanced power relations rarely found in archaeology (although see Crumley 1995; McGuire and Saitta 1996).

Anarchists are particularly interested in the deployment of counter-power not only in response to already emergent elitism but also as a series of acts that predates power centralization (Clastres 1989; Graeber 2004). Attempted aggrandizement and incipient elitism occur in every society, including supposedly egalitarian groups (Flanagan 1989). Left unchecked, these forces can result in the vertical power structures that run counter to the presumed notions of equality guiding many simple societies. As such, just as power exists in every human relation, so too does the possibility of counter-power (Call 2002). Resistance to authority does not require the presence of authority, but rather can precede its emergence and act to insure it does not occur. This is an important point for those of us studying egalitarian societies, as it suggests that we need not wait for the emergence of domination to look for the means by which it is combatted—instead, the lack of domination likely suggests the successful application of counter-power as a means by which domination has been effectively quelled.

As such, the adoption of anarchic theory reverses traditional assumptions of causality or natural ordering. Simplicity is not just the precursor to complexity, but is rather its counterpoint. To be more precise, balanced power relations can be the goal of past peoples and stand as an option to centralized authoritarian structures. Efforts must be made to attain such balance, however, and research ought to be aimed at studying the means by which balance was attained by past peoples. Hunter-gatherers appear to be particularly successful in attaining balance both in the present and perhaps the past; anarchic theory may therefore be particularly useful in studying these groups.

### Conclusions

Archaeologists interested in studying the simplicity of past human groups, particularly hunter-gatherers, can look to the writings of anarchic theorists for inspiration. These writers discuss the underlying philosophies that inform a view of the world in which equality of power is seen as critical and alienation as antithetical to human happiness. Long described in terms of ecological productivity, technological inferiority, or cultural stagnation, anarchists instead provide an understanding of social simplicity as a goal for many people—a goal difficult to attain but well worth the effort.

## REMEMBERING THE GHOSTS OF WOLF, MAUSS, AND PRITCHARD

Lindsay M. Montgomery

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For several decades anthropologists have rallied to the side of Eric Wolf (1982), echoing his distaste for the division between history and prehistory (Fredericksen 2000; Lightfoot 1995; Oland et al. 2012; Rubertone 2000; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010). Although the concept of “prehistory” is still used in the discipline, some scholars now offer alternative theories to Western models of human evolution that trace a single line from wandering hunter-gatherer to sedentary complex society. Despite these attempts to blur the lines between history and complexity, the American public is far from accepting these efforts as either legitimate or accurate. And so it seems that the predominant worldview is destined to remain one in which egalitarian (often mobile) societies, lacking any signs of a state structure, are perceived as prehistoric primitives.

Relegating egalitarian societies to the realm of prehistory perpetuates the idea that non-state indigenous societies have nothing relevant to teach us about the contemporary world. For confirmation that this assumption remains alive and well, one need only turn to the plethora of popular academic titles published over the past decade aimed at explaining the West’s exceptional rise from primitive backwater to modern power house? *Why the West Rules for Now; Guns, Germs, and Steel; The Rise of Western Power; The Triumph of the West*; to name just a few. While these works reject the idea that history is inevitable, their analyses proceed from the premise that a fundamental break occurred in the Western world that allowed it to develop faster and more efficiently than other societies.

An anarchic framework rejects the conceptual division between the modern West and the primitive non-West and offers an alternative line of questioning to “Why the West is the best?” The anarchic line of inquiry is rooted in the belief that other social, political, and economic constructions are legitimate and desirable and rejects elite Western scholars’ monopoly over the construction of history (Graeber 2004:10). This line of inquiry is not entirely new. Indeed, there are many early examples of anthropologists whose work resonates with the anarchic framework. For instance, Marcel Mauss’s (1950) documentation of the Malagasy’s gift economy and E. E. Evans-Pritchard’s (1940) concept of “ordered anarchy” among the Nuer both suggest that societies without hierarchy or capitalist markets were that way because they liked it, not because they had failed to evolve.

Inspired by Wolf, Mauss, and Pritchard, I have turned toward an anarchic framework in the hopes of rethinking the underlying dualisms surrounding the study of equestrian nomads in the Southwest (Figure 1). Egalitarian mobile groups, like the Utes, Comanches, and Apaches, are often contrasted to complex hierarchical sedentary communities. This division is rooted in colonial narratives that portrayed nomads as barbarian destroyers in need of civilization. Within archaeological scholarship, the



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nomad-sedentary continuum perpetuates the problematic notion that “simplistic” material culture represents a lack of social complexity. Our continued reliance on dualisms such as nomad-sedentary, premodern-modern, and simple-complex relegates “real” nomads to the realm of prehistory. These dichotomies obfuscate the link between contemporary communities and their ancestors and preserves unidimensional interpretations of society (Figure 2). Embracing the anarchic imperative to imagine alternative paradigms to those that structure Western society allows scholars to challenge these dichotomies and to embrace indigenous constructions of history. Within this framework, Comanche statements about the importance of reciprocity and maintaining a “flat” society provide an alternative framework for interpreting their material practices in the past and the present.

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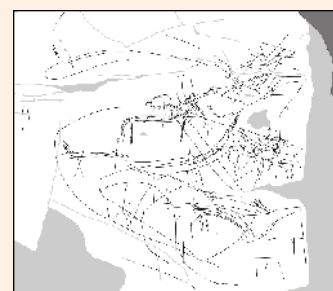


Figure 1. Comanche petroglyph panel, Vista Verde Site, New Mexico. Image courtesy of Severin Fowles.

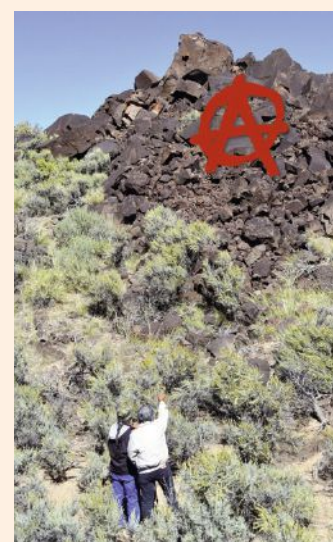


Figure 2. Comanche elders during consultation at the Vista Verde Site in 2014. Photograph by Jason Ordaz.

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### Notes

1. Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010.
2. Ahousaht Indian Band and Nation v. Canada (Attorney General), 2013 BCCA 300.
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4. Lax Kw'alaams Indian Band v. Canada (Attorney General), 2011 SCC 56.

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## ROBERT LELAND SMITH 1920–2016

Internationally renowned volcanologist Robert L. Smith died in Sacramento, California, on June 17, 2016, just a few weeks short of his ninety-sixth birthday. It is not typical for a geologist to appear in an archaeological journal memorial, but Bob Smith was anything but a “typical” geologist. Details of his life interests and illustrious career in geology appear elsewhere (Bacon 2016), but we take this opportunity to mark his signal and lasting contributions to archaeology: the invention of the obsidian hydration dating method and the explication of magmatic variables involved in the formation and chemical composition of obsidian critical to interpreting the results of obsidian provenance analysis.

Bob was born in 1920 and grew up in Fair Oaks near Sacramento. In addition to his other wide-ranging interests, he was taken by archaeology at a young age, and like many other boys, he collected Native American artifacts in the Sacramento area. Later, as a student at Sacramento Junior College in the late 1930s, he was acquainted with Robert Heizer, who would go on to become the doyen of California archaeology at UC Berkeley. Noted ornithologist Edward Winslow Gifford was a family friend, and Bob collected shells with him on some of his many field trips. Gifford—or “Eddie” as Bob called him—was at the time the curator of the Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley.

Beyond his inclinations as a naturalist and his fondness for archaeology, while working at the US Geological Survey in the late 1950s, he and Irving Friedman discovered the obsidian hydration dating method, which would come to revolutionize archaeology in areas of the world (like California, the Great Basin, and the American Southwest) where volcanic glass was the primary and preferred material used by native peoples to make artifacts. The hydration dating method was grounded in the finding that perlite was formed from obsidian by absorption of meteoric water (i.e., of atmospheric origin), leading to the conclusion that a chemical and physical change—called hydration—takes place on naturally formed volcanic glass surfaces following eruption, forming a water-rich “rim” that can be measured using an optical microscope. Although the hydration process was identified, it was unclear at first whether hydration was a continuous, comparatively rapid diffusion process, or whether water was taken in only during the cooling phase of the glass. To investigate this problem, Bob and Irving analyzed a large number of obsidian artifacts of “known” ages from archaeological sites throughout the world, and it was determined that the hydrated layer (“rim”) thick-

ened rapidly enough with time to make the method useful for placing archaeological artifacts, and assemblages, in relative chronological sequence. They reported their research, and the new dating method, to the archaeological community in our Society’s flagship journal in 1960 (Friedman and Smith, *American Antiquity* 25[4]). There can be little doubt that the discovery of obsidian hydration and the development of the obsidian hydration dating method transformed archaeology, and that it has opened up entirely new dimensions of research that might otherwise have remained inaccessible. In recognition of this remarkable achievement, in 2005 the Society for California Archaeology presented Bob

and Irving Friedman with the Martin A. Baumhoff Special Achievement Award.



Beyond his pioneering research on obsidian dating in archaeology, during his long career at the US Geological Survey Bob made equally notable contributions to obsidian provenance studies. His work in this arena focused on obsidian geochemistry and the evolving chemical nature of magma chambers—specifically, on factors that influence how magma chambers are chemically

constituted and how their chemistry may change through time, as well as the post-eruptive processes that influence obsidian chemistry. These studies added vital geological and geochemical perspective and sophistication to obsidian provenance research in archaeology. His comprehensive library of obsidian samples from sources throughout the world—now curated at the Smithsonian Institution—and his publication of accurate analyses for a large number of chemical elements provides an internally consistent reference for provenance identification.

Bob’s knowledge was encyclopedic, his field experience vast and worldwide, and his grasp and understanding of magmatic processes and their variable effects on obsidian chemistry were truly unparalleled. Archaeologists everywhere—especially those of us dealing with dating and provenance analysis of volcanic rocks—owe him a tremendous debt.

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Don't forget to submit your Archaeology Week/Month poster to SAA for the 2017 contest. This year's contest will judge posters dating between April 2016 and March 2017.

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